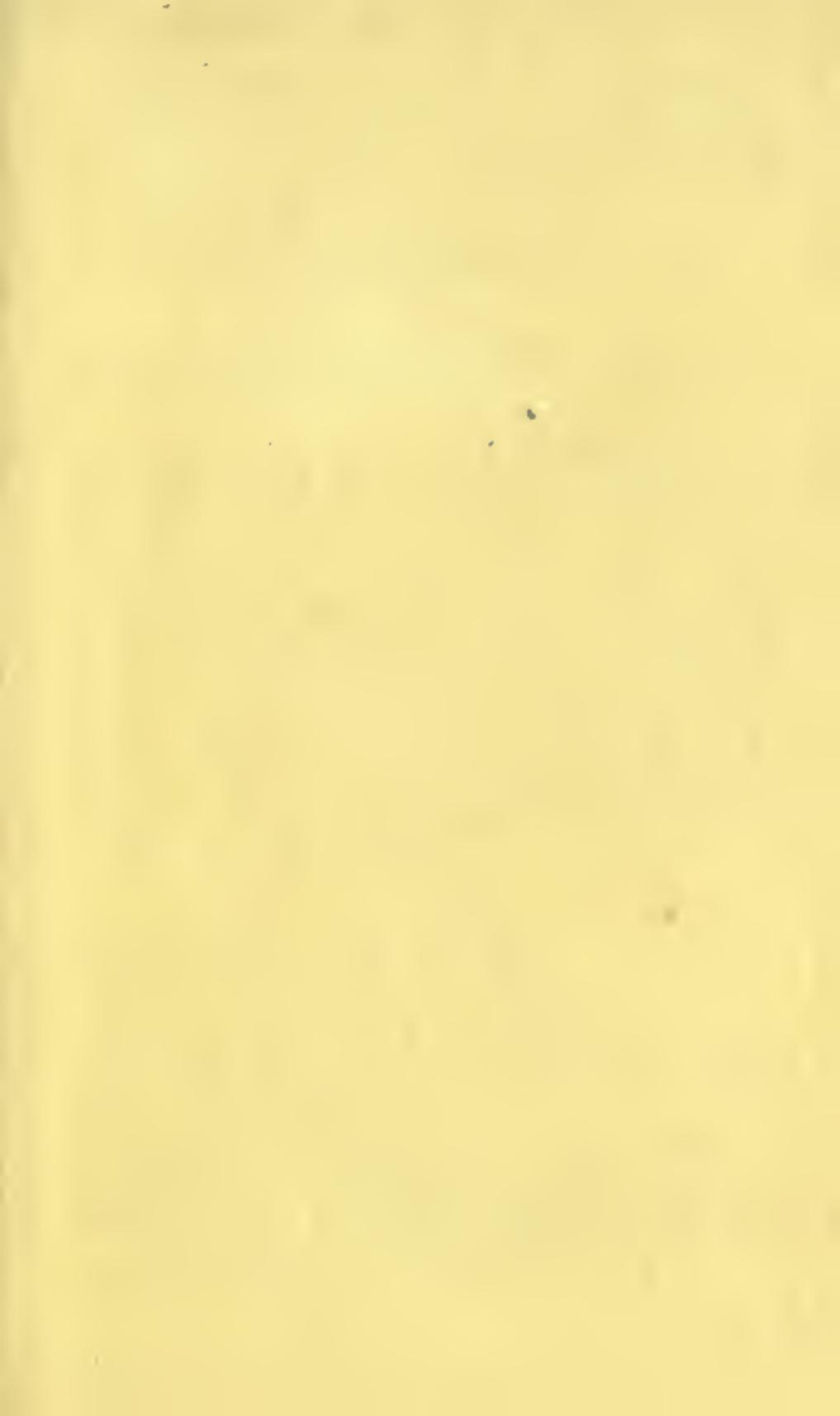


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THE BIBLE IN MANY TONGUES.

CHAPTER I.

THE BIOGRAPHY OF BOOKS IN GENERAL, AND OF THE BIBLE IN PARTICULAR.

WHAT an interesting volume might be written on the lives of books—their origin, history, and influence! By whom were these pages written, and under what circumstances? who have read them, and with what results?—are questions which any great book may prompt us to ask. The answers, could we hear them, would be found to connect the books themselves with the highest temporal, and even with the eternal interests of our race.

Here, for example, is the “tale of Troy divine.” In which of the seven cities that contend for the honour of being the birthplace of the poet was it written? Did he sing these lines through the streets of his native place? How did he live, and where is he now? Is he himself a fiction, the shadow of a great name, the representative of a school of poets, whose fame is lost in his? These pages Plato has read. Hence he gathered, perhaps, the conviction that in his model republic, the deities which are here clothed with worse than human

passions should have no place. Hence, perhaps, his doctrine of the final absorption of all souls in one great Spirit gathered strength ; for the *souls* of the heroes who were slain go, we are here told, to the shades below, while the heroes *themselves* lie bleaching on the shore. This book Alexander studied and admired while meditating fiercer struggles and wider conquest. Hence Virgil borrowed his measure and history. Milton mastered its mythology and rhythm while preparing his "Paradise Lost." Pope has rivalled the music of its numbers in a translation that has all the merit and (what in a translation must be called) the faults of an original work. In studying these pages, Cowper has found relief from the burden of well-nigh intolerable despondency, has caught the simplicity of his author, and has even thanked God that Homer lived. Millions of men, probably, have read or listened to those lines ; and many have gathered impressions from them for good or for evil which have never been effaced.

Or let us open a very different volume. These Commentaries of Cæsar were written amidst the turmoil of conflict. These are lines penned, one might suppose, in the fastnesses of ancient Germany, or during the harassing attacks of the fickle Gauls, or in the fogs and privations of our own Britain. The whole was evidently composed by snatches, and is the work of a man of action, who could as easily conquer a country as describe it. But little

fancy is needed to discover on the page the mark of his spear, the dust of his tent, or the stains which attest the narrow escape of its author when he swam with it to the shore. This volume has lain under the pillow of soldiers in every country of Europe. It has formed the character and fixed the destinies of thousands even under this dispensation of the gospel.

This "Novum Organum" of Bacon again—what power *it* has exerted ! It has brought It has home to "men's business and bosoms." science endowed their "lives with new commodities." In influence it is second only to the treatise of the great logician, which suggested its name, and the place of which it sought to assume. It recommended that a college should be formed for questioning nature, and compelling her to disclose her secrets ; and the Royal Society sprang up to carry out the recommendation. Among all civilized nations, this book is in matters of science the code of law and guide of inquiry. Men travel and study under the teaching of him who was one of "the greatest" and, alas ! (for the line of Pope is too true) one of "the meanest" of men.

Books of less name have exerted in some respects even greater influence. Who can measure the results of the labours of Richard Baxter ? His memory is still fragrant in Kidderminster, and his nervous English will never cease to be popular. He owed his first serious impressions of religion to an old torn book, lent to his father by a poor man. The

book was written by a Jesuit of the name of Parsons, and altered (much against the Jesuit's will) by Edmund Bunny, rector of Bolton Percy, a man of apostolic zeal ; and was thence called Bunny's Resolutions. Two other eminent nonconformist ministers were first impressed by it, and Baxter states that he had heard of its success with many others.

The writings of Wycliffe, our countryman, were the means of the conversion of Huss, and the writings of Huss first excited the ardent, inquiring mind of Luther. The works of Jerome and Augustine originated thoughts and feelings in the mind of John Knox which were never forgotten ; and John Wesley ascribed to them his first religious convictions. A nonconformist pastor at Northampton, the friend and correspondent of Tillotson and Secker, relieved the dulness of metaphysical study by writing a treatise on "The Rise and Progress of Religion in the Soul." To that treatise in part, and in part to conversations with Isaac Milner, Wilberforce traced his conversion. Amidst the struggles of public life, that joyous, energetic man penned his "Practical View of Christianity." A copy of it was sent to some college friend of Legh Richmond's, with a request that he would give the donor his opinion of the book. This friend devolved the task on Richmond, and *his* conversion was the result.* "Little Jane" was among the first evidences of this change, and

* The same book consoled and delighted Burke on his dying bed.

the "Dairyman's Daughter" among the last : these little volumes being in their turn the means of awakening religious feeling during the author's life-time, and to his own knowledge, in not fewer than thirty persons.

Colonel Gardiner took up in an idle moment, while waiting to gratify some sinful indulgence, Watson's "Christian Soldier ; or, Heaven taken by Storm," hoping to find something that might afford him diversion. The perusal of part of it broke off his purpose, and produced ultimately a permanent and most remarkable change. Dr. Chalmers, again, is said to have groped his way into truth while preparing his treatise on the Evidences of Christianity ; more especially on such evidence as is supplied by its influence upon the hearts of its disciples.

How suggestive are associations of this kind with the volumes we read ! Genius has spent its power on the life of a "Looking Glass," of a "Guinea," of an "Old Chest," and each has had a strange story to tell. But of all lives of inanimate things, the biography of a great book, could it be written, would be among the most instructive. It might be made, in truth, an epitome of the natural history of man ; not perhaps in his outward condition, but in what is more important, the moral and spiritual changes he has undergone.

Of all books, the most remarkable in its history, the mightiest in its influence, as the noblest in its origin, is THE BIBLE. Coming

into the world in successive portions, it yet forms a consistent whole, and has received in different ages every kind of treatment. It has been studied with devoutest love, and persecuted with bitterest hatred. Revered, neglected, admired, abhorred, it has pursued its course; enlightening the ignorant, convicting the guilty, comforting the sorrowful, encouraging and strengthening the resolute and manly. It has guided millions on earth, and has led millions to heaven. It is a book for every age; is adapted in its method and contents to influence all, and has proved the teacher both of the barbarous and of the civilized portions of our race.

Whether it is contemplated by us in its parts or as a whole, it is equally rich in historical interest. If we turn, for example, to Rom. xii. 1, where we are besought "by the mercies of God to present our bodies a living sacrifice," we find the passage marked with the name of Usher, who ascribed to it his conversion. Toplady points, for the same purpose, to Eph. ii. 13. An Ethiopian eunuch, riding home from Jerusalem, in the first age of the church, found the gospel in the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah; and sixteen hundred years later, an English earl—the earl of Rochester—once a profligate infidel, finds the same message in the same chapter. The twenty-third Psalm was probably the death-song of David, and has been the death-song of many besides. This Psalm Bp. Sanderson died repeating. A single verse from the Gospel of John, "God so loved the

world," commenced the work of evangelization in the South Seas; as another on the crucifixion produced the same effect in Greenland, after long years of comparative failure, though in the latter case, the rudiments of natural religion, and the acts of handicraft skill, had been taught with the utmost assiduity. Another verse, "It is a faithful saying, and worthy of all acceptation, that Jesus Christ came into the world to save sinners," has afforded comfort in prospect of coming judgment to thousands, and among them to Andrew Fuller and Dr. McAll. Indeed, it may be affirmed that, of the nearly eight thousand verses of which the New Testament is composed, there are few that have not touched the hearts, or aroused the conscience, or confirmed the faith of some now in glory; portions even unimpressive having met the feelings of peculiar classes of readers, and suggested lessons, or supplied evidence, as in the case of the genealogies, which might otherwise have been concealed.

If we look at larger divisions of the volume, the associations are no less attractive. The Psalms were the favourite book of Hooker, of Horne, and of Luther, who regarded them as the choicest trees in the garden of the Lord. The Epistles of Paul were seldom out of the hands of Chrysostom, the "golden-mouthed" orator of the early church. The martyr Ridley tells us incidentally, in his farewell to his friends, that he had learned nearly the whole of them in the course of his solitary walks at

Oxford. Boyle could quote, in the original Greek, any passage of the New Testament that might happen to be named. On Daniel and Revelation, sir Isaac Newton spent some of the ripest hours of his life. Locke devoted twelve years to the study of the Epistles and of the whole Bible, which he has carefully analyzed. It is a proof of the esteem in which Leighton held the whole book, that his French Bible (preserved in the Library at Dumblane) is filled with manuscript extracts from ancient commentators ; while in an English copy he was accustomed to use, there is hardly a line unmarked by his pencil.

The historian Foxe tells us that Tyndale owed all his knowledge of Divine truth, and his conviction of its value, to the study of those Scriptures which he was the first to "set forth" or publish in his own tongue. Wycliffe, his predecessor in the work of translation, and the "Evangelical Doctor" of his day, ascribed his conversion to the same cause. Luther was first impressed by the writings of Huss ; but he learned the gospel and the first principles of the Reformation from the Epistles to the Galatians and the Romans. Bishop Bedell seems, from Burnett's account, to have studied the Bible from his earliest childhood, and gathered from it all his religious knowledge. Carey was taught the Scriptures, like Timothy, from his youth, and has himself ascribed his religious decision to their influence. How instructive to notice that the men who have

done most since the Reformation for the translation of the Bible—Tyndale in England, Bedell in Ireland, Luther in Germany, Carey in India—all received their deepest religious impressions from its sacred page.

The testimony borne to its influence and beauties by literary men is also worthy of remark. Petrarch thinks, “that if all books were destroyed, this one retained would be a greater treasure than all the millions ever published by mortal man.” Sir Matthew Hale deems it “full of light and wisdom.” Milton “admires, and loves to dwell upon it for its clearness and truth.” Steele sees something more than human even in its style. Addison recommends the frequent perusal of it as the surest way to make life happy. Sir William Jones finds in it “more true sublimity, more exquisite beauty, more pure morality, more important history, and finer strains, both of poetry and eloquence, than can be collected from all other books that were ever composed in any age or in any idiom.” As Mrs. Hemans lay on her death-bed, she repeated whole chapters of Isaiah with rejoicing lips ; and in the imperfect mutterings of the closing scenes of sir Walter Scott’s life, his friends caught the sound of broken verses of Isaiah, and now and then the simple lines of a Scottish psalm, themselves suggested by its truths. In both these instances, it may be hoped that it was not the literary beauty, but the moral and spiritual

truth of the Bible that formed its chief attraction. So great was the value which our fathers attached to the Bible, that its various books were commonly called, in the sixteenth century, "The Library," ("Bibliotheca;") "no other works," says D'Israeli, "being deemed worthy to rank with them."*

Regarded, therefore, simply as a book that has influenced our race more than any other; a book which, in one part of it, has been thought by competent judges to have afforded matter for the laws of Solon, and a foundation for the philosophy of Plato,† and has certainly moulded all modern philosophy and legislation; a book which has been illustrated by the labour of learning in all ages and countries, has been admired by millions for its piety, its sublimity, its veracity; a book, above all, which has "God for its author, salvation for its end, and truth, without any mixture of error, for its matter,"—few subjects can be more interesting than even a fragment of a biography of the Bible.

And this fragment—its history, in fact, in other lands and tongues than our own, it is now intended to supply.

What seems to be thus interesting as a question of curious and instructive history, is doubly so when the Bible is regarded in its influence on a large scale upon the progress of

* Curiosities of Literature.

† Gale's "Court of the Gentiles."

religion, of learning, of civilization, and of freedom.

The Bible has all the elements of a *great* book. Composed of different parts, it has but one theme, and that theme is kept in view from the beginning to the close. It contains the history of two dispensations ; but in the truths they illustrate and in the impressions they are adapted to produce, those dispensations are one. Throughout we have the same God and the same "Mediator between God and men." Human nature is everywhere seen depraved and guilty, needing pardon and renewal. God is ever just and merciful ; and everywhere he is revealed as seeking man's salvation and holiness. "The Old Testament," as was long ago said, "is the New veiled ; and the New Testament is the Old unveiled." In the first we have the revelation of the earthly type—in the second the revelation of the heavenly reality ; the one gives us the "shadow of good things to come"—the other, in a great measure, the good things themselves. The Bible has one object, and its aim is the noblest that can occupy the hearts or thoughts of man.

Hence its influence in perpetuating and in reviving religion.

Without it, the tendency of man to corrupt everything pure, everything holy, has everywhere corrupted religion itself. Thus was it, for example, in the earliest times. Between the days of Adam and Abraham we have four generations. Adam must have known Methuselah,

as Methuselah must have known Shem. When Shem died, Abraham must have been about one hundred and fifty years of age. To that race God had given a primitive revelation ; and once, at least, within those four generations God renewed it. Adam knew his will, and Noah entered into a second covenant with him. Written revelation, however, there seems to have been none ; *that* began with the law. Mark the result ; twice, at least, during this time was the knowledge of the true God all but extinguished, and twice did the world fall into the grossest wickedness and idolatry ; once before the flood, and again in the days of Terah and Abraham. That a written Bible would have saved them from this condition is too much to affirm ; but the absence of a Bible must have left freer scope to the downward progress of man in iniquity.

At the giving of the law, revelation was put into a *permanent* form. God himself, with his own finger, wrote the precepts of the Decalogue, and he commanded Moses to write other precepts in the "book of the law." No provision seems to have been made, however, for the public reading or private study of these documents, except after long intervals. Hence the Jews fell rapidly into the superstitions of other nations. For nearly a thousand years they remained in this condition. After the captivity, synagogues and copies of the Scriptures (now greatly enlarged) were multiplied throughout Judæa, and from that time idolatry was unknown among the Jews. With other sins they

are chargeable, but from this sin they were preserved.

The history of the gospel and of modern missions confirms this view. Wherever religion, once known, has become extinct, *there* has either been no Bible, or the Bible, though translated in whole or in part, has been, from circumstances or from system, withheld. Once South America was, to a large extent, nominally converted to "the faith;" as was Japan. Now the people of both countries are sunk in the darkest heathenism. Those who visited them kept the Bible out of their hands. The light was put under a bushel by the very men who introduced it into the house, and now the light itself, such as it was, has perished. The lesson taught by these missions is obvious. A permanent, accessible record of religious truths seems essential to secure their permanent influence. David ascribes his wisdom and stedfastness to his study of the law; and the cure for apostasy, apostles tell us, is to give heed to the things we have been taught through their word and their epistles. Without such heed we shall let them slip, and must then sink again into a state of profounder degradation than the one we had left.

If the reader wish a fact of an opposite kind, he may turn to the history of Madagascar. There the disciples of Christ have been for many years exposed to bitter persecution, but though there have been many martyrs, there has not been one apostate; with holy stedfast-

ness have the converts adhered to the faith. The explanation we now find to be, that they had the Scriptures among them, and that, though the foreign missionary could not longer reach them, they found *there* the secret of their comfort and strength.

What is thus essential for the preservation of religion is no less required for its revival. Contrast, for example, the state of the Jews before the reformation by Josiah with their condition after it, the reformation itself being the fruit of the discovery and dissemination of the book of the law, (Zeph. iii. 1—7 ; 2 Kings xxii. 11 ; 2 Chron. xxxiv. 30—33;) or mark the effects of the study of the Scriptures in the case of the same people, as recorded in the eighth and thirteenth chapters of Nehemiah, and it will be seen that the habitual study of Divine truth, such study as only a written record allows, is under God the great instrument of religious improvement. Knowledge alone may change the opinions of men, but it is meditation that influences their principles, moulds their characters, and subdues their hearts.

The mightiest instrument of the Reformation in Europe was Luther's version of the Bible; and the Reformation made but little progress comparatively till that work was completed. In our own country the progress of evangelical faith among the people was owing to the multiplication of the English Scriptures; no fewer than one hundred and three editions of the Old or New

Testament having been printed during the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., a period of only twenty-eight years. In India the history of missions illustrates the same truth. The first conversion in Bengal took place after seven years of labour, and as the first Bengali Testaments were beginning to circulate in that country. Since that time the progress of conversion has kept pace in India, and in most parts of the earth, with the progress of translation. The history of the Bible, therefore, is really the history of what is the great element of the revival and progress of all true religion.

It is also the history of civilization and learning. A written Bible, to be useful, must be circulated and read ; and a circulated Bible implies a correspondent duty. The principle involved in the existence and circulation of such writings is, that it is our right, and in this case our duty, to examine them : an ennobling right, a solemn duty ! The ideas which the Bible reveals are the grandest that can occupy our thoughts, and the most powerful in their influence on our character. Wherever, therefore, the Bible goes and is studied, it carries with it thought, inquiry, decision. Popery teaches both error and truth—but with a system which most needs investigation, yet forbids it, and enjoins on all to submit the results of their inquiries to the lessons of authority. The Bible, on the other hand, reveals all truth and nothing but truth, bids men examine its disclosures, and then submit to what they find

to be revealed. “*Prove all things*,” is its first message ; and its second, “*Hold fast that which is good*.” These precepts it enforces by telling men that for the results of this examination, and the conscientious discharge of the duties connected with it, they must finally give account unto God. Clearly, wherever the Bible goes, and this doctrine is embraced, men’s minds cannot fail to be brought into contact with truth, nor can inquiry and truth fail to form a thoughtful, earnest character, even though, alas ! the spiritual significance of the gospel may not be fully perceived.

The tendency of Protestantism to promote inquiry and learning soon showed itself, and was strengthened by other influences. With the study of the Bible, for example, originated in modern times the study of antiquities, of the philosophy of languages, and kindred subjects. To translate Scripture it was needful to become acquainted with the original. To the Bible, therefore, we owe the labours, in this department, of Melancthon, Calvin, Zwingle, Buxtorf, Michaelis, Eichhorn, Schultens, Lightfoot, Kennicott, Lardner, and Lowth. To the Bible we owe the most eminent critical scholars of modern times—Heyne, Ernesti, Heeren, Schulz, Wolf, Bentley, Spanheim, Voss.

In jurisprudence and history, no authorities are superior to Grotius, Sleidan, Puffendorf, and Locke, the Basnages, L’Enfant, Mosheim, Walch and Cramer, and Niebuhr. The precepts of the Bible bid men inquire. The neces-

sities of religious truth made inquiry essential, and hence these men, all Protestants, have intermeddled with all knowledge, and done more for the progress of literature in three hundred years than was done in the thousand which preceded them.

So in more modern times, and in distant countries, everywhere the progress of literature has been accelerated by the translation of the Bible. In India, for example, mere dialects have been raised by Christian missionaries into the place and dignity of settled tongues. Dr. Carey found the Bengali a rude medium of thought, without grammars and without ascertained principles of speech. He left it clearly defined ; adapted, moreover, for conveying to those who speak it the subtlest and sublimest truth.* Agents of the Society with which Dr. Carey was connected have, in the last fifty years, written fourteen grammars and nine dictionaries, beside a large number of elementary treatises in different tongues, the whole originating in an intense desire to make the Bible intelligible. The richness and beauty of the Sanscrit were praised by sir William Jones ; but its qualities were never fully tested or known till the era of missions and of biblical translation. At this moment the Chinese language is undergoing an amount of investigation and analysis, such as the learned men of China have never attempted, and the motive is to make a perfect version of the word of life.

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In Africa, in the South Seas, in Central America, and among the various Indian tribes of North America, the first books ever written consisted of portions of Scripture, and it may be safely affirmed that, but for the deep sense missionaries have entertained of the value of the Bible, the languages spoken by many of these tribes would never have been reduced to writing at all.

Nor is the influence of the study of the Bible seen in the progress of learning only; it is seen also in the advancement of general intelligence and civilization. More than half of the population of Germany are Roman Catholics, three-fourths of the universities are Protestant, and nearly every man who has gained influence in that country as a thinker was born and bred a Protestant: Leibnitz, and Lessing, and Klopstock, and Herder, and Wieland, Goëthe, and Schiller, and Kant, and Schelling, and Schleiermacher, and Eichhorn, and Müller, and Richter, and the Schlegels, the Humboldts, and Novalis, and Tieck, and Wolf, and Niebuhr. That all these men have submitted to the authority of evangelical truth cannot, alas! be affirmed, but they were all free from the bondage of dead traditions. They had all learned the first lesson of knowledge—to read and investigate for themselves.

Nor can any justly doubt that civilization and general improvement have followed in the track of the Bible. Scotland and Prussia have few advantages of climate or of soil, and yet

they are among the most flourishing countries in the world ; while the states of Italy are infested with banditti. At the commencement of the Reformation, Portugal was unquestionably superior to Denmark ; now the superiority is as unquestionably on the side of the Danes. Compare England and Spain. In all the elements of temporal and intellectual greatness, the contrast is most striking ; in science, in arts, in letters, in commerce, in social institutions. Nor is the contrast peculiar to the parent states ; it may be traced on the other side of the Atlantic. The very El Dorado of Columbus is in the possession of the Saxon, while the colonies which Spain still retains are sources of weakness and not of strength. Go where we may, it is impossible to avoid the conviction, that the mental depression of one member of the European family and the elevation of another, where these are not owing to physical causes, are to be ascribed to some moral power at work among some of the northern nations of Europe, and wanting in the southern ; to the moral power, in fact, of the most suggestive and instructive of books, the Bible.

To the interests of true freedom the Bible is equally favourable. It impresses upon all the duty, and therefore claims for all the right, of inquiry, thought, and the diffusion of our thoughts. It teaches men to check every selfish passion, to respect each other's rights, to consider themselves as part of one community,

and to promote everywhere the collective happiness of the race. Let the Bible be duly honoured, and all men will receive their rights, and be prepared to exercise them without injury or risk to the general good.

These last, it may be said, are subordinate blessings of the study of the Bible. They *are* subordinate blessings ; but only when compared with the holier spiritual ones it seeks to bestow ; and no one who has marked the history of our times, or has examined the solemn questions which seem waiting for decision among us, or knows how essential to high-toned virtue manly independence is, and how conducive to true independence is moral culture, will regard them as insignificant. Taking the lowest ground, the Bible makes men sober and honest. It qualifies for privilege, and secures it. Like the godliness which is its theme and end, it brings the promise of the life that now is, and the certain hope of that which is to come.

The history of the Bible, therefore, is the history of religion, of learning, of civilization, of freedom ; or at least of the light and teaching which are essential to the existence and permanence of them all.

One caution must be added to these remarks. The chief value of the Bible consists in the truths it reveals ; and the most important of the influences of the Bible depends on the application of those truths to men's hearts by means of reflection and prayer. The Protestant

principle, "the Bible only the religion of Protestants," cannot of itself spiritually enlighten or save. The study of the words of Scripture, of its history and customs, is often without sanctifying power. It is the truth of Scripture, as applied by the Holy Spirit, that saves us, and it is the belief of the truth, and the consequent meditation upon it, that makes it influential. To expect anything else—to suppose that God saves us because we acknowledge that his word is our guide, even if that word be neglected—that we may feel it and be sanctified by it without the exercise upon our part of comparison and thought—is to conclude that God will act inconsistently with our state as intelligent creatures, and that the gifts of his natural government are useless under the government of his grace. For some purposes the submission of the intellect to the Bible, and the study by the intellect of the Bible, are themselves a blessing ; but if the Bible is to accomplish its *great* purpose, we must bring to the study of it the devout and believing submission of the heart.

CHAPTER II.

THE BIBLE IN THE ANCIENT EAST AND AT ROME.

OUR narrative begins with the captivities of Israel and Judah. Greece had just commenced her Olympiads, and some savage wanderers had laid the foundation of a mud-built city on the banks of the Tiber, when the people of Galilee and Samaria were carried into exile by the kings of Assyria. The oldest European monarchies, therefore, were only rising in the west when the Jewish Theocracy was sinking into decay. Within the period of two hundred years following this event many important facts of history are crowded. The ancient empires of Nineveh and Babylon were overthrown; Confucius flourished and philosophized in China; consular government was established at Rome. The dynasty of the Pharaohs was finally driven from Egypt, and that country made a Persian province. At Marathon and Salamis the tide of Persian conquest was turned, and the freedom of Greece and Europe so far secured. One Jew had risen to be minister, another was the cupbearer, and a Jewess had become the consort of a Persian monarch.

Each of these events, too, was in its way significant. But the event of the age was the dispersion of the Jewish people, and their influence upon the religious condition of the nations among whom they were driven.

Hitherto the favoured race had been confined to Judæa. Frequent access to other countries was difficult, and even illegal ; nor had they, passionately loving their own land as they did, any temptation to wander. Henceforth, however, their character seems changed ; Judæa and Jerusalem are beloved still, but to the love of country there is added, as in the case of the Scotch and Swiss of our own times, a strong tendency to settle among other nations. Both captivities were intended as a punishment of national sins ; they were repeatedly foretold, and the sins which caused them were repeatedly denounced. It was foretold, also, to the people of Judah that one fruit of their exile should be repentance, and that on repentance they should be restored. All these predictions were fulfilled. The Jews in Babylon wept when they remembered Zion ; they sought the God of their fathers, and on their restoration to Palestine many of their former national sins were abandoned. Idolatry was entirely abolished, never to be revived ; and their reverence for the law seems to have become most profound, ending, indeed, even in a superstitious regard for it—a regard which sacrificed the spirit to the letter of their ancient institutions.

But the captivity produced other results.

Jerusalem was no longer the virgin daughter of Zion ; its towers had been thrown down ; its temple profaned ; and the symbols of the presence of its great Inhabitant were gone. To the Jew, therefore, Jerusalem was to some extent less dear. In Babylon, moreover, the condition of the people had become more prosperous than many of them had hoped ; in the peace of the city they found their peace. So kindly were they treated by their conquerors, that when Cyrus gave them permission to return to Judæa the majority remained in their new home, where their descendants were to be found even in apostolic times, and long after in the rabbinical schools of that city. Other bands of them may be traced to the shores of the Caspian, and even to China. In Egypt a settlement had been made from the time of the murder of the Babylonian governor of Judæa, and with their history the name of Jeremiah is connected. To the descendants of this body of settlers Alexander gave peculiar privileges, and the Jewish quarter in Alexandria is often mentioned in history. Antiochus the Great established colonies of them in Lydia and Phrygia, and the policy of his predecessor, Seleucus, the builder of Antioch, induced many of them to take up their abode in that city. The disorders in Palestine drove others of the nation into voluntary exile ; so that when Christ came Jews were to be found in large numbers throughout Asia, Greece, and Italy. The three great capitals of the world were crowded with them—

Alexandria, the seat of eastern learning ; Antioch, of eastern commerce ; and Rome, the mistress of both.

The effect of these changes on the history of the Bible is very important. The *captivity* ultimately produced the Targums, and the *dispersion* circulated the Septuagint. By the Targums a knowledge of Jewish literature and antiquities has been handed down to our times. By the Septuagint much of the same knowledge was extended throughout the ancient civilized world.

When the Jews returned after the captivity to Palestine, the old Hebrew had become obsolete. It sounded to the ears of the people as middle-Saxon might sound to a modern Englishman. Its roots they recognised, but its forms and appearance were peculiar. It became necessary, therefore, to make provision for explaining the law in the common tongue. With this view, synagogues were built in the cities of Judæa. The living voice became a necessary addition to the written word, and in process of time, as copies of the law were multiplied, the version in the vernacular dialect was naturally added to each, and even the notes and explanations given by ancient teachers. The reduction of such exposition to writing, however, must have been a very gradual work. Few of the people could read, and still fewer could afford to buy what must have been expensive volumes.

For three centuries before Christ this kind of teaching continued. When it was first reduced to writing is uncertain, but within two or

three hundred years after Christ we find several Targums, (as the text and notes together were called,) each being a translation of part of the sacred text in the vernacular Aramæan or Chaldee, with comments, grammatical, historical, and religious. These translations originated in the necessities of the people. Their utility to ourselves it is impossible to overrate. First of all, they afford a large body of materials for fixing the meaning of old Hebrew. As it is, many of its words are found only in one passage of Scripture, and without the Targums some of them at least would be unintelligible. They enable us, moreover, to ascertain the precise readings of the original text, and show with what vast care the whole was preserved. They illustrate in a remarkable manner the accuracy of the descriptions given in the New Testament of the character and sophistry of the Jewish rabbis. From the Targums alone a model teacher, according to Jewish notions, might be drawn to the life, and he would be found the very counterpart of those scribes and Pharisees whom our Lord rebuked. Above all, they prove that the views of the ancient prophetical Scriptures given in the New Testament, and now adopted by most Christian expositors, were the views taken by the earliest commentators among the Jews themselves. Men may now ask whether it is certain that the twenty-second Psalm and the fifty-third chapter of Isaiah really apply to the Messiah. To the old Jewish expositor such a question admitted of but one reply. *He*

believed that the prophet spoke in both cases, not of himself, but of another, and that other—Him “who was to come.”

Any one at all acquainted with a Hebrew Bible may have noticed that there are various divisions in it, not found in the English translation. Looking more closely, he may find peculiar letters: there is one, for example, in Lev. xi. 42; another in Lev. x. 13; another in Psalm lxxx. 14; and another in Psalm lxxviii. 36. Sometimes the letter is of an unusual size; sometimes it is in an unusual position. In Lev. xi. 42, the peculiar letter is the middle letter in the book of the law. In Lev. x. 13, it indicates the middle word of the law. And so of the letters in the Psalms. These facts and many others are all noted with the most scrupulous care in the comments to which we have referred. “In the letter” most emphatically did the Bible come to the ancient Jew rather than “in the spirit;” and with such reverence are those comments still regarded, that no modern Jew deems a Bible properly printed, in which these distinctions are not observed. Some imaginative interpreters among them give most curious explanations of these distinctions themselves.

The fact is without a parallel in the history of literature. Our Hebrew Bible contains a language which has not been spoken, except as a sacred tongue, for nearly two thousand years. The language itself was spoken four thousand years ago; and the very points, and accents, and divisions we now employ in writing it, were put

into writing soon after the commencement of the era of the Christian faith.

Happily, the ancient world was not left to gather its knowledge of the Old Testament from these Jewish writings. The fables and stories which they contain must have brought religion into contempt, had these books been circulated among the Greeks. But the Jews guarded them from profane eyes with most religious care. Nor were they published—that is, they were neither largely multiplied nor publicly sold—till after the days of our Lord. They were put into a permanent form early enough to preserve to our own day a knowledge of the Hebrew tongue, but not so early as to interfere with the circulation of another version, (“without note or comment”) which has in its turn done a great work for the cause of truth—the version of the Seventy.

Any one acquainted with Wales and Welsh literature must have marked the lamentations which Welsh scholars pour forth on the progress in the principality of our English tongue. The language of Cymri—that is, of Gomer and his descendants—is far more ancient, rich, and melodious than the hybrid Saxon. The decay of Welsh scholarship, they tell us, is one of the saddest signs of the times. And yet the English continues to trench on the districts occupied by its rival; and it is not difficult to determine what time will elapse before the Welsh ceases to be a spoken tongue.

Such is, in brief, the history of all speech.

A dialect of the Welsh was once spoken throughout Britain. Within the last five or six hundred years it was found in Cumberland and in Cornwall; it yielded, however, to the Saxon, as elsewhere the Saxon had yielded in part to the Norman. The writings of Wycliffe and Chaucer, however, (both of whom were thorough Englishmen,) stemmed the tide of Norman-French, and enabled the old Saxon to enter into alliance with the conqueror. Our modern English is the fruit of this union. As the power of Britain has extended through other countries, the English tongue has prevailed. In the western world it has driven out from Trinidad the Spanish, from Canada (to a large extent) the Indian dialects and the French. At the Cape it is subduing the Dutch and Caffir, while in the East Indies it is dividing our empire with the different forms of the native languages.

A struggle very similar began in Palestine with the conquest of Alexander. Aristotle had by that time proved the fitness of Greek to express the nicest distinctions of human thought; Plato had illustrated its richness and beauty. Then appeared the "he-goat" of Greece, who pushed his victories to "utmost Ind," and carried with them the literature and language of his country. Before the days of our Lord, Greek had become the tongue of commerce, of literature, and even of social life, from Babylon to Rome. It was for the world, therefore, that the version of the Seventy was

prepared, though those who originated it had much narrower views.

Among the names which occupy a large place in ancient history, that of the Ptolemies is one of the most notable. The influence of their dynasty in the later history of Egypt was not unlike that of the Pharaohs in the earlier. One of them, named Ptolemy Philadelphus, was fond of books; not a great reader, probably, but anxious to form a library in his capital, and, if possible, to make Alexandria the seat of eastern learning. He therefore commissioned an Athenian, called Demetrius Phalereus, to collect books, authorizing him to spare no expense in carrying out this plan. Demetrius had heard of the sacred manuscripts of the Jews, and was desirous of adding a copy of them in intelligible Greek to the collection of his master. Ptolemy concurred in this feeling, and sent an embassy to Eleazar the high priest, at Jerusalem, with a view of obtaining a correct copy of the ancient Scriptures, and of inducing a band of grave and learned men to visit Alexandria, and translate the work into Greek. Aristeas, an officer in the king's household, (whose letter to his brother gives us this account,) and another nobleman, carried the royal letter to Jerusalem, taking with them many costly offerings for the temple. They were favourably received by the authorities of the nation. Eleazar sent back a copy of the law at least, written in letters of gold upon skins of exquisite beauty. Six elders out of each

tribe, seventy-two in all, were also chosen, and sent with the messengers of Ptolemy to execute the proposed translation. On their arrival, the king graciously received them, tested their wisdom by seventy-two different questions, and after sumptuously feasting them for many days, ordered them to be conducted to the isle of Pharos, in the harbour of the capital. Here they commenced their work, daily comparing their separate versions, and then dictating the approved version to Deinetrius. In seventy-two days they completed their translation, which was then read in the presence of the king. He expressed his high admiration of their learning, and rewarded them with several talents of gold. He then sent them back to Jerusalem with great honour, and commanded the version itself to be deposited with the utmost care in the Alexandrian library. Such is the narrative of Aristeas. What with the “seventy-two translators,” the “seventy-two questions,” and the “seventy-two days,” it is easy to see that the version is not inappropriately named the version of the Seventy, or, as more fully written, of the Seventy-two.

Philo, the Jewish philosopher, who lived at the commencement of our era, and was ignorant of many of the circumstances narrated by Aristeas, has himself given an account not less extraordinary. According to him, Ptolemy Philadelphus sent to Palestine for some learned Jews to execute this translation. On their arrival at Alexandria, he tells us they went to

Pharos, and there executed each a distinct version. When these versions were compared, it was found that they exactly agreed both in sense and in expressions. Naturally it was concluded that the translators must have been Divinely directed ; "every word," it was added, "being dictated to them by the Spirit of God." He informs us also that a festival was celebrated in his own day by the Alexandrian Jews, to preserve the memory of this version, and to thank God for the blessing which had thus been conferred upon their body: the Jews of Palestine, however, marking the time of the completion of this work by a *fast*.

These are the two accounts that have come down to us, and it is evident that there is much fable connected with each. A very cursory examination of the version itself shows it to have been made by different hands ; probably at different times, and certainly without any such accuracy or perfection as would justify the supposition of miraculous interference on its behalf. Nearly all modern writers, from Scaliger downwards, deny the genuineness of the narrative of Aristeas. Dr. Masch thinks that the translation was promoted by Ptolemy on *political* grounds, in order to check the intercourse of the Jews in Egypt with Judæa. The reason alleged by the embassy to Jerusalem he regards as a pretence, and the whole narrative of Aristeas as a plausible story, got up under royal patronage to gain influence for the new translation. Horne supposes that the version

was undertaken by Jews for the use of their countrymen, and that neither Demetrius nor Ptolemy had any concern in it. A large number of ancient authorities, including Josephus, Clement of Alexandria, and even the Talmud, concur in the leading facts of the history above given; and it may be safely affirmed that, about 285 b.c., the whole or the greater part of the Old Testament was translated at Alexandria into the Greek tongue, under what circumstances precisely, and by whom, we are not now likely to know.

The plans of Ptolemy in forming his library were doomed to an early disappointment. Many of the books were burned in the days of Julius Cæsar, about fifty years before Christ, and it is probable that the autograph copy of the Seventy perished in the flames. Some centuries later, whatever remained of this noble collection was destroyed by Omer, one of the Mohammedan caliphs. His soldiers, finding a large number of books when the city was taken, asked what was to be done with them. The dilemma in which their master placed the destiny of these volumes is one of the most destructive on record. "Either," said he, "these books contain nothing but what may be found in the Koran, or they contain more: if the former, they are useless; if the latter, they are impious additions to our knowledge: let them be burned." Already, however, had the library at Alexandria done its work; it had given to the heathen, all unconsciously, the words of eternal life.

The value and influence of this version on the ancient world it is not easy now to understand. It set forth the truths of the Old Testament in a tongue unrivalled for strength and beauty. It gave to heathen philosophy, as Gale has shown, some of the best and purest sentiments it ever taught. It formed a connecting link between Judaism and humanity, between Palestine and the world. It rendered the Greek language a fit vehicle for the Divine communications of our Lord, and it made the New Testament familiar, so far as phrases and expressions were concerned, to the Jews themselves. It was in this tongue, and from this version, that Moses was read every Sabbath among the thousands of Jews who were scattered abroad. It is even now one of the best expositors of both Testaments, throwing light upon the Hebrew of the first, and the Hellenisms, or Hebrew-Greek, of the second.

At first the Jews in Palestine viewed this version with dislike, for it tended to weaken the ties that bound the Jew to his country ; but as the Greek language gradually superseded the vernacular dialects of Asia, it came to be regarded with favour, and was read even in the synagogues of Judæa. The inspired writers of the New Testament constantly quote from it, though some of their quotations (more than a third of the whole) are taken directly from the Hebrew; the writers thus intimating "that the Holy Spirit did not intend in the New Testament to canonize any version by constant and perpetual use."

The two most celebrated manuscripts of this version are the Codex Alexandrinus and the Codex Vaticanus. The latter is in the library of the Vatican at Rome. It was probably written towards the close of the fourth century; is on parchment, in uncial or capital letters, three columns to a page, without any division of chapters, verses, or words. Its history is not known. The Codex Alexandrinus is now in the British Museum, and is reckoned one of the richest treasures of that noble collection. The work consists of four volumes in small folio, and was presented by Cyril Lucar, the Greek patriarch of Constantinople in the seventeenth century, to sir Thomas Roe, ambassador from Charles I., as a present to his master. It was deposited in the Museum in 1753. The patriarch brought it with him from Alexandria, and gives the following account of its history. "This manuscript," says he, "was transcribed by Thecla, an Egyptian lady of distinction, upwards of thirteen hundred years ago. She lived not long after the council of Nice. Her name was heretofore at the end of the book, but when Christianity was subverted by the errors of Mohammed, the books of Christians were likewise persecuted, and the name of Thecla was expunged; however, it has been transmitted to us by tradition." On the manuscript itself is written in Arabic, in a later hand than the original, "It is reported that Thecla wrote this book with her own hand." The style of writing in the manuscript corre-

sponds with this account. It was evidently executed by a lady, and from internal evidence of various kinds it is concluded that the whole was written not later than the beginning of the fifth century. Both the Old and New Testaments have been printed in type cast for the purpose, line for line, as in the original, at the expense of the British government.

The version of the Seventy, therefore, was in use in the commencement of the Christian era from Italy to Babylon. But two distinct influences were soon at work to diminish its popularity, and to make it necessary that a new version should be prepared. The religion of the gospel, though a religion of peace, divided the world ; Jew against Gentile, and Gentile against Jew. To the Bible both parties appealed, and to the version of the Seventy. The Jews, however, pressed with arguments taken from it, began to deny that it agreed with the original Hebrew. Consistency required that denial in such a case should become abhorrence. In process of time the fast which the Jews in Palestine had instituted to execrate the memory of the version, was observed by the rest of the nation. This denial, moreover, required proof. Accordingly, Jerome says that the Jews of his day had altered the text of the Seventy, and expunged passages which they could not alter. At last they gave it up entirely, adopting in its stead the version of Aquila, a renegade Christian, who had turned Jew, and been admitted into the school of

R. Ahiba, one of their most celebrated teachers. This feeling in relation to the Seventy suggested to Origen the importance of a revised version in Greek, a work which he executed with great care. His version, in fifty volumes, six columns to a page, must have presented a curious contrast to the compact one-volumed quartos of modern days. This was the first polyglot Bible ever made, and was destroyed by the Saracens at the destruction of Cæsarea.

Added to this influence was another. Greek was beginning to lose its hold upon the nations. The language of imperial Rome was taking its place, especially in Africa and Italy, where Christians were already a numerous party. In that language, as Augustine complained, every controversialist attempted a version of his own, making it generally, not from the Hebrew, but from the Seventy. It became increasingly important, therefore, to provide a version adapted to this large class of readers. To meet this want, Jerome (382) turned his thoughts to examine existing versions, and to compare them with the original Scriptures. What Latin versions he found, it is not easy now to ascertain ; whether one or more. Several fragments had been published before his day, and he himself refers to the labours of his predecessors in that department ; so that it is at least clear that there existed in Italy from the second century some versions of Scripture into the vernacular tongue. At the request of Damatus, the bishop of Rome, Jerome com-

menced his labours with the New Testament ; and in 382 A.D. executed a version into Latin, using the old Latin texts then in use as a basis. He then translated the book of Psalms, though this version was superseded by one made subsequently, when his knowledge of Hebrew had enabled him to do fuller justice to the original. He next turned his attention to the Old Testament. To fit himself more thoroughly for this work, he retired to Judæa, and spent several years at Bethlehem. Here he acquired a knowledge of Hebrew, and, at the suggestion of several friends, commenced to translate successive portions of the Old Testament. To these labours he devoted twenty years, and at last published the whole Bible. At first his work was regarded with much suspicion. The existing version of the Seventy was still deemed by many to be of Divine authority, and Jerome was charged with unsettling the faith of the church. Within a hundred years of his death, however, his version of both Testaments was generally received. Written in what was then the common or vulgar tongue, and adapted, therefore, for all readers, it came to be called the Vulgate, and has exercised very great influence over the religious progress of Europe, and on modern versions. Two of the chief revisions of this version were executed by countrymen of our own—Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne (802,) and Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. There is now a beautiful manuscript of Alcuin's revision in the British Museum.

There is a strong tendency in some minds to appeal in matters of religious faith to antiquity, and to antiquity Protestants also love to appeal, only they make their appeal on two conditions. It must be more ancient than the time which now so often usurps the name. Let us go back as nearly as we can to apostolic times : that is the *first* condition : and then we must take antiquity, not as *authority*, but as *evidence*. It is a fair help to the meaning of Scripture, but no substitute for Scripture itself: that is the *second*. Subject to these conditions, we have no fear of any appeal to antiquity, and the great principles of our Protestantism, we believe, will be found to be at least as old as the Gospels. To antiquity, however, the church of Rome appeals, and justifies on this ground, in part, her practice of withholding from the people the New Testament in the vernacular tongues. The Vulgate, says she, is the only authoritative standard of faith, and in no other language may men read the wonderful works of God, "without special license from ourselves." This assumption is met by the very version she recommends. That version belongs in part to the earliest age of the church. It was made by one of the most eminent of the fathers—in order to meet the wants of the people, and render Scripture accessible to all readers. Would Rome but do what the translators of the Vulgate did, give the Bible to the people in the language most intelligible to them, she would copy the fathers, and confer a boon upon the nations such as the

real founders of the true church at Rome would have been delighted to give. In the meantime, the honour paid to the Vulgate, which has long ceased to be what its name implies—a version in the vulgar or common tongue—is the gravest censure that can be pronounced upon that church herself. She commends that version for a reason the very opposite of the one which induced Jerome to make it. He made it that the truth of God might become intelligible: she honours it because by it the truth of God is concealed.

The history of this version is instructive in another respect. It illustrates the “infallibility” of the “Roman church.” Rome claims for the pope, or for general councils, or for the church generally—for it is not agreed who or what is infallible in her system—the privilege of never erring, and of never being liable to err. It is not often that infallibility turns printer; and the history of the text of the Vulgate proves that when infallibility is pushed to this extent, it is a very inconvenient assumption. In 1546, the council of Trent declared the Vulgate to be the only authentic standard of faith. On this declaration it was deemed desirable that there should be an authentic edition of that authentic text. In 1590, therefore, Sixtus v. printed an edition at Rome, which he himself corrected, and then proclaimed to be the only genuine one, denouncing excommunication against any who should dare to alter it. It was soon found, however, that it contained very

many remarkable blunders ; and in 1592, one of his successors, Clement VIII., issued *another authentic* edition. Therein he corrected some of the errors of the Sixtine edition, claimed infallibility for *this* text, and threatened to excommunicate any who should alter *it*. This edition, however, added various errors of its own. Both those infallible editions contain some gross errors, and both are chargeable with grave omissions. The Sixtine text omits Prov. xxv. 24 ; Judges xvii. 2, 3 ; Matt. xxvii. 35. The Clementine text omits 1 Sam. xxiv. 8 ; 2 Sam. viii. 8 ; Acts xiv. 6, xxiv. 18, 19. In matters material to the sense they contradict one another,—in Exod. xxxii. 28 ; Josh. ii. 18 ; xi. 19 ; 1 Kings ii. 28 ; iv. 22 ; and in many other places. Dr. James reckons two thousand instances in which they differ, and Lucas Brugensis (a Romanist author) reckons four thousand places in which the Bible of Clement needs correction. Cardinal Bellarmine intimates that many mistakes were passed over intentionally ; “for just reasons,” he adds, though he has not told us what they are. If the Romish church is as fallible in provinces beyond our investigation as she clearly is in provinces within it, she is not likely to gain much confidence, or to deserve much through this claim.

Between the version of the Seventy and the Vulgate appeared the ancient SYRIAC. The language of this version was not very different

from what was probably the common tongue of the country districts of Palestine in the days of our Lord. It was then spoken in the town and district of Edessa, and is still the ecclesiastical language of the people in that district, and also of a body of Syrians found in recent times in Cochin, Travancore, and other parts of the Malabar coast. The history of the version is wrapped in obscurity. Tradition says that it was made by translators whom the apostle Jude and Abgarus, king of Edessa, had sent to Palestine for this purpose, and the tradition is sufficiently probable. From internal evidence it is believed that the translators were Jewish Christians, and the version cannot be much later than the first century, as Ephraim the Syrian speaks of it in the fourth as in many places obsolete and unintelligible.

There are also four or five other Syriac versions of parts of Scripture, all of them ancient, but not requiring special notice. They do not differ materially from the Peschito or literal version just named.

Though made in very ancient times, this version was not known in Europe till the middle of the sixteenth century. A copy was sent to Italy in the year 1552, and the New Testament was forthwith printed at Venice. Great pains have since been taken to obtain Syriac manuscripts of Scripture, and with considerable success. Mr. Rich travelled with this object in view through part of central Asia, and discovered in Assyria fifty-nine

Syriac manuscripts, which are now in the British Museum. In 1806, Dr. Buchanan visited the Syrian Christians in India, and found among them several manuscripts of great antiquity. These he brought with him to England. He ascertained that the Syrian Christians in India amounted to nearly one hundred thousand persons, and that though they had suffered severely from the Inquisition at Goa, they still possessed a regular hierarchy, and numbered between fifty and sixty churches. The last few years of the life of Dr. Buchanan were devoted to the preparation of an edition of the New Testament from those manuscripts, and he died, it may almost literally be said, with the sheets of the Syriac Testament in his hands. The work was resumed, and ultimately completed, under the editorship of the late Dr. Samuel Lee of Cambridge. Shortly before the death of Dr. Buchanan, he was walking with a friend in the churchyard at Clapham, and entered into a minute account of the plan he had adopted in preparing the text. Suddenly he stopped and burst into tears; as soon as he recovered his self-possession, he said to his friend, "Be not alarmed; I am not ill; but I was completely overcome with the recollection of the delight with which I had engaged in the exercise. At first I was disposed to shrink from the task as irksome, and apprehended that I should find even the Scripture weary by the frequency of this critical examination; but so far from it, every fresh perusal seemed to

throw new light upon the word of God, and to convey additional joy and consolation to my mind." And so translators have ever found it. Many have expressed similar testimony, and acknowledged that the more they attempted to fathom the depths of Scripture, the more profound it has seemed, and the richer the treasures it has yielded to their search.

The language of this ancient Syriac version derives additional importance from the fact, that the language spoken by the Nestorians is nearly identical with it, though having a considerable mixture of modern Turkish and Persian. The visit paid that people by Dr. Wolfe, and still later by Dr. Grant, has excited a deep interest on their behalf.

Two results have followed the recent discovery of copies of this ancient version.

They have confirmed in a remarkable way the accuracy of our present text. The present text of both Testaments is found to agree in its readings with that of manuscripts which have been brought from the distant east, where they have been buried for centuries. At the very time when the nations of Europe were throwing off old bonds, and were peculiarly exposed to the danger of abusing their liberty, Providence was providing fresh evidence of the truth of Scripture from the very ends of the earth. They have supplied, moreover, a strong testimony against the assumptions of the Romish church. For fourteen centuries a large body of nominally Christian people have existed in India, and for a

yet longer time in Syria. They knew nothing of the adoration of the Virgin, of the doctrine of transubstantiation, or of the pretended supremacy of Rome. They held none of her peculiar dogmas, and they witness in the east, like the churches of Piedmont in the west, to the pure gospel of Christ. If the history and name of the Vulgate are a standing protest against the sin of keeping the truth of God sealed up in an unknown tongue, the history of the Syriac version is a protest no less decisive against other novelties and corruptions of the papacy.

Thus have we seen that most parts of the ancient world had each their own Bible. The Syriac version meets the wants of the southern Asiatic ; the Greek, of the native of Greece and of Asia Minor ; and the Latin, of western Europe. On the borders of the districts occupied by those different forms of speech, however, there were other tongues into which it was necessary, if the people were to read the Bible, that it should be translated ; and this necessity seems also to have been met in very early times.

In Egypt, for example, dialects of the ancient Egyptian prevailed for centuries before the commencement of the Christian era ; and though that tongue yielded among the educated classes to *Greek* in the days of Ptolemy, and to *Arabic* after the Mohammedan conquest, yet there had always been a considerable population who used either the Coptic or the Thebaic, the two common forms of the ancient speech. Both

dialects are peculiarly interesting to the scholar. They form a connecting link between the Shemitish and African families of languages; and the versions in them which still remain are instructive, also, as evidence of the genuineness of the present Greek text. The present Coptic version was probably made in the second or third century; the Old Testament portion being founded upon the translation of the Seventy, and the New translated immediately from the original Greek. It is mentioned in church history that one of the ascetics of Egypt, Antoninus, read the Egyptian Scriptures before the close of the third century, though it is not certain whether the copy he possessed was in the Coptic or the Thebaic dialect.

One effect of this ancient version has been to keep alive a form, if not the spirit of Christianity in Egypt, during a long series of centuries, among a persecuted people, surrounded by Mohammedan oppressors. They are still called Copts; their numbers, however, being but small. The population of Egypt, long the "basest of kingdoms," as was foretold, has dwindled from seven millions (its number in the days of Diodorus Siculus) to less than two millions, and of these about one hundred and fifty thousand only are Copts—that is, native Egyptian Christians. Their peculiarity, *religiously*, is that they confound the Divine with the human nature of our Lord, and are therefore called Monophysites—advocates of one nature. Their heresy was condemned at the council of Chalcedon, A. D.

451. An error not less fatal, certainly, is rather spiritual than theological. "Our head," said an intelligent Copt to a missionary in Cairo, (Mr. Krusé) "is sick, and the whole body is spiritually dead. What we want" he added, "is a man like your Luther, bold enough to stand fast by the faith, and to reform our church."

About the same time—that is, in the second century, and not later than the third—a version of the Scripture into Sahidic, or Thebaic, was completed. This is the language formerly spoken in Upper Egypt, and about one-third of the New Testament has been printed in this tongue. It is really a dialect of the Coptic, and, except for critical purposes, the version is not now of practical value.

Long before the days of our Lord, a colony of Arabians crossed the Red Sea, and settled in the districts south of upper Egypt, in what is now the modern Abyssinia. From this country came the Ethiopian eunuch to Jerusalem, and to this country he was probably the first to carry the gospel. The general extension of it throughout Ethiopia, however, seems to belong to a somewhat later period ; and as the Abyssinian church has been dependent for many centuries on the Coptic church in Egypt—the latter having the appointment of the chief bishop of Abyssinia—it is not unlikely that Ethiopia received the gospel from Egypt. However this be, we find an Ethiopian Bishop, Frumentius, in the fourth century, and to him the translation of the Scriptures into Ethiopic is generally ascribed.

The Old Testament, the whole of which has not been printed, was made from the Seventy, and the New from the Alexandrian manuscript of the Greek. To Ludolf, the Ethiopian scholar, (1700,) we are indebted for most of our knowledge of Abyssinia and its versions. From the matrices presented by him in that year, to the Frankfort library, was made the type from which most editions of parts of the Ethiopian Scriptures have been printed. It is to the Ethiopians we owe a curious apocryphal document, called the book of Enoch. Though without any claim to be regarded as part of the canonical Scriptures, it is undoubtedly of great antiquity.

In the region between the Black and the Caspian Seas, and south of the great range of the Caucasus, is the native seat of the Armenians. In this neighbourhood the ark rested after the flood, and hence the first settlers ascended into the plains of Shinar and India. For ages, the people who originally belonged to this district have been the travellers and merchants of the east. They are found from Palestine to central Africa, from Venice to Canton. Their religious faith is nominally Christian, and not unlike that of the Coptic church. They are Monophysites, and are still governed by their own patriarchs. They have a large religious establishment, in their own country, in Turkey, and even in Hindostan. The forefathers of this people very early received the gospel. At the beginning of

the fifth century, (406,) Miesrob, a learned Armenian, invented a set of characters adapted to the language of the nation. Tradition relates that he received them from heaven; but without crediting this statement, it is certain that they were formally adopted by royal edict, and have ever since continued in use among Armenians. Immediately after this invention, Miesrob communicated it to the Armenian patriarch, (Isaac by name,) and then travelled through the country to establish schools, in order to teach the people the Christian faith. On his return to the capital, he found that the patriarch was engaged in transcribing the Scriptures from the Syriac (the only written language then in use in that country) into the newly-invented Armenian, and by a joint effort this work was soon completed. At the council of Ephesus, two pupils of Miesrob appeared, by direction of their master, to recount the progress made in the translation, and to request a complete copy of the Seventy, and of the Greek New Testament, for the use of the translators. On receiving this boon, (which, we may suppose, was voted by acclamation,) Miesrob and Isaac prepared to revise their work. They found themselves, however, ignorant of Greek, and therefore they sent others of their pupils to Alexandria—then the great school of Greek learning—to study the language. On the return of those young men, (one of whom was Moses Chorenensis, the historian of Armenia,) the work was resumed, and soon after completed. For many

centuries manuscript copies of this translation were in use, and in 1666 one of their bishops (Uscan) printed at Amsterdam an edition of the New Testament. The repeated reprinting of Scripture has awakened the Armenian mind to a large extent, and now the Armenian church generally maintains the sufficiency of Scripture as the rule of faith and practice.*

North of Armenia, though still between the Black and Caspian Seas, is the country of Georgia. The tradition of the Georgian church is, that their country received the gospel in the fourth century, through the teaching of a Greek maiden called Ninna, and that the Bible was translated in the eighth century by Euphemius, a Georgian, and founder of the Iberian or Georgian monastery at Mount Athos. There are different accounts of these occurrences; but it is certain that a proper knowledge of the doctrines of revelation is still considered an indispensable part of female education, and that this feeling has been formed under the influence of the ancient tradition. It is said, also, that the autograph version of Euphemius was still to be seen, a few years since, in the library of Mount Athos.† An edition of this version was printed at Moscow in 1742, in three large folio volumes. This edition was printed under the inspection of the Georgian princes, Arcil and

* Forty-third Report of the British and Foreign Bible Society, page 89.

† Dr. Pinkerton's Letter, British and Foreign Bible Society's Sixteenth Report.

Bacchar ; and the matrices of the types used in printing it having escaped destruction in the great conflagration at Moscow, they were afterwards used by the Moscow Bible Society in printing other editions. The alphabet used is ecclesiastical : though more recently the civil character has been employed in editions published at Tiflis, and in Russia.

For centuries before the Christian era, the nations of the north of Europe had been regarded with fear, even, by imperial Rome. In Jutland and Prussia different tribes of *Goths* were settled, and further north were the *Sclavi*, or *Vandals*, the forefathers of the millions of modern Russia. In the days of Antoninus, (180,) the former, after extending their dominion in eastern Germany, moved in great numbers to the shores of the Black Sea, and thence invaded different parts of the Roman empire. Dacia they conquered ; Mœsia (hence Mœso-Goths) was assigned to them by Valens. Subsequently they revolted, and in 409 A.D., under Alaric, they took and pillaged Rome. The language of this people is closely allied to the modern German and ancient Saxon, and the version of the New Testament in this tongue is one of the most valuable remnants of antiquity. This version was made by Ulphilas, bishop of the Mœso-Goths. He was born in the year 318, and educated at Constantinople. There he became a Christian, and was ordained bishop in 348. The Gothic alphabet, which is

a modification of the Greek, he invented, and in translating the Scriptures used the version of the Seventy in the Old Testament, and Constantinopolitan manuscripts of the Greek in the New: parts only of the version remain. He seems to have been a man of high moral character and of great power. It became a proverb among his countrymen, that whatever was done by Ulphilas was well done, and, chiefly through the influence which he possessed over them, he induced them to embrace the Christian faith.

The most important manuscript of this version is now called the Codex Argenteus, or the Silver Manuscript, from the circumstance that the letters are of a silver hue, excepting the initials, which are of gold. This manuscript seems to have been produced in Italy, but the precise date is uncertain, some referring it to the fifth century. It is now preserved, after a somewhat strange history, in the royal library at Upsal.

As some languages owe their written characters to the Bible, so in this instance it is to the Bible we owe our knowledge of one of the most important members of the Teutonic branch of tongues. For literary purposes, the Gothic version of Scripture is one of the most precious relics of antiquity.

To the translation of the Scriptures, the Sclavonic also owes its alphabet, which is an adaptation from the Greek. This was the work

of Cyril and Methodius, the first missionaries to the Slavonians. Both were sons of a Greek nobleman of the name of Leo, a resident in Thessalonica. Cyril, then known as Constantine, was the companion of the young prince Michael, and received an excellent education, but betook himself in early life to the shores of the Black Sea, where he studied for some years, preparing himself for the arduous work to which he had deliberately devoted his life. Methodius held an appointment in the army, and was for ten years governor on the Slavonian frontiers, where he had ample opportunity for studying the Slavonic dialects. He ultimately accompanied his brother to Moravia, where they spent four years and a half in translating the Scriptures. They both died towards the close of the ninth century. One of the earliest editions of part of their version was published in 1495, at Montenegro ; the earliest being published five years before at Cracow, in Poland.

There is one language more that claims a place in this list of ancient versions—the Arabic. Of all the Shemitish dialects, this language is the richest in grammatical forms and in literature, and it is still a spoken tongue. It is practically the vernacular speech of Arabia, Syria, Persia, Malabar, Egypt, Nubia, and Barbary. From the western confines of Africa to the Philippine islands, and from the tropic of Capricorn to Tartary—that is, over a hun-

dred and thirty degrees of longitude, and seventy degrees of latitude, this language is venerated and studied. "We will begin to preach," said Henry Martyn, "to Arabia, Syria, Persia, and Tartary, part of India and China, half of Africa, all the sea-coast of the Mediterranean and Turkey ; and one tongue shall suffice for them all."

Though this language, however, is thus important in our own time, it will be easily seen that in the early age of the church it was less so. Greek, Latin, and Syriac, did much of the work for which Arabic is now required, and the progress of translation into this tongue extended in proportion as the empire of other tongues waned. One of the earliest versions was made in the seventh century. In the eighth, the bishop of Seville, finding Latin falling into disuse, and Arabic spreading through the Mohammedan conquests, executed a translation of Jerome's Vulgate into Arabic. The churches at Antioch and Alexandria also produced translations into Arabic at different periods from their own versions. Various other Arabic versions have been made at different times, and some in our own day. They, however, belong rather to a later period of our history. Mungo Park found that the Mandingo negroes possessed, among other MSS., an Arabic version of the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and Isaiah. These MSS. they had purchased from the Moors, and they were held by the people in high esteem.

If these facts be reviewed, several lessons

will appear obvious. Clearly it was a principle recognised among Christians from the first that the church was to *give the Bible to the world, not in a learned tongue, but in the vernacular.* Wherever Christian missionaries went in the first age, thither went the Scriptures ; so that, within four hundred years after Christ, not only the people of Syria, Greece, and Rome, but the natives of Egypt, of Ethiopia, and, soon after, of Armenia, Arabia, and, by and by, of central and northern Europe, all possessed, and could read in their own languages, the word of God—the glad tidings of eternal life.

It may be added, that before the time of Jerome the Latin language had spread over a large part of Gaul and Spain. Indeed, till the eighth or ninth century, that language was the common speech among all persons of intelligence and learning throughout the western part of Europe ; the vernacular languages which then sprang up in those countries being, like the Italian, modifications of that tongue.

It is equally clear that those versions were made, not from the Vulgate, but, in the case of the New Testament, from the original Greek, or, as in the case of the Syriac Old Testament, from the original Hebrew. It is a Romish *novelty* to claim for the Vulgate inspired or even exclusive authority.

It is a question of some interest how far copies of the Scriptures were sufficiently multiplied in those early times to meet the wants

of the people; for, after all, the influence of Scripture depends, not on the existence of a translation, but on the facility afforded for reading it. A translated Bible is no blessing unless it is easily accessible and frequently used.

In answering this question, it must be admitted that there was no such facility of access to Scripture as is *now* enjoyed in most Protestant countries. On the other hand, it is certain that Scripture was much more accessible than in the *middle ages*. This statement may seem paradoxical, but it is sustained by ample evidence; and as the subject is both interesting and important, part of that evidence we may supply.

Long before the Christian era, large libraries were formed in different parts of the ancient world, and existed for centuries. Pisistratus, who formed one of the earliest libraries in Greece, (A.D. 520) gathered an immense collection of the works of the learned. The Egyptian Ptolemies founded and enriched the vast library at Alexandria, and though it was partly destroyed by fire, and in the fourth century was much injured during some disturbances between the Pagans and Christians, yet it was so large that, on the Saracen invasion, the books are said to have been numerous enough to serve the four thousand ovens of the city for six months. In Rome there were, about the time of our Lord, several libraries both private and public: one was formed by Paulus Emilius, who placed

in it the books he had taken from Perseus, of Macedon ; another had been formed by Sylla ; another by Regulus, who received from the people all the books that were taken at Carthage. Later than these last, Crassus, Cæsar, Cicero, Augustus, and Lucullus, each formed collections which excited the admiration of their contemporaries. There must, therefore, have been some thousands of volumes in Rome at that time. Some of the libraries of the Christians rivalled even these imperial collections. Pamphilus, the presbyter of Cæsarea, who lived at the close of the third century, collected a library in that city which contained thirty thousand volumes. This collection seems to have been made chiefly for the use of scholars of that day, as the books were lent out very freely to all who were religiously disposed. Jerome mentions this collection, and Dr. Adam Clarke remarks upon it, “ that this is the first notice we have of a circulating library.” Of this library it may be added, some traces remained even to modern times. Montfaucon describes minutely two manuscripts, one in the Royal Library, and the other in the Jesuits’ College at Paris, both of which profess to have belonged to this library at Cæsarea. The greater part of this collection was destroyed by the Saracens.* Contrast with these facts the following :—In the year 1364, the Royal Library of France, which now numbers half a million of volumes, did not contain twenty.

* See Clarke’s Succession of Sacred Literature, vol. i. p. 227.

Shortly afterwards, Charles the Fifth increased it to nine hundred ; and about the year 1440, the whole was transferred by the duke of Bedford to London, as one of the choicest treasures which either war or money could gain. At the beginning of the fourteenth century, the library of Oxford consisted of “a few tracts kept in chests.”

The conclusion which is thus rendered probable by the comparatively large multiplication of books in early times is confirmed by other evidence. Augustine remarks, that in his day (the fourth century) there were many versions of the Hebrew Scriptures into Greek, and of the Greek Scriptures into Latin. “The translators of the former may be computed,” says he, “but the number of those who have translated the latter cannot.” “I think,” says Fenelon, “that much trouble has been taken in our times very unnecessarily to prove what is incontestible, that in the first ages of the church the laity read the Holy Scriptures. It is as clear as daylight that all people read the Bible in their native languages ; that as a part of education children were made to read it ; that in their sermons the ministers of the church regularly explained it to their flocks ; that the sacred text of the Scriptures was very familiar to the people ; that the clergy blamed the people for not reading it, and considered the neglect of the perusal of Scripture as a source of heresy and immorality.”* This statement is the literal

* *Oeuvres Spirituels*, tom. iv. p. 241.

fact, and it proves that copies of the sacred writings abounded, for exhortations to read the Bible must have been worse than useless if the Bible itself was not accessible.

Nor, when judging of the general knowledge of Scripture in early times, ought a third fact to be overlooked. In the early ages of the church there were many ecclesiastical writers. Jerome mentions as many as a hundred and twenty who flourished during the first four centuries, and of those who wrote in the *first seven*, fragments of no less than a hundred and ninety remain. Their works are chiefly comments on Scripture. They quote very largely and accurately from the sacred text. From the fragments which have come down to us, the whole text of the New Testament might be gathered, even if the original Scripture had perished. Lord Hailes, in Scotland, and Dr. Bentley, in England, made the experiment, and confirm this statement. The authors of these works resided and taught in Gaul, Germany, Italy, Syria, and Africa. The works themselves were written in the Greek, Latin, and Syriac tongues. They were read by thousands, and could not have been read without giving an insight into the doctrines and phraseology of the Bible.

If it be asked what has become of these ancient volumes which were once so numerous ? the answer is at hand. A considerable number remain, and a much larger number have been destroyed. The Romans burned the books of

the Jews, of the Christians, and of the philosophers ; the Jews, the books of the Christians and of the Pagans ; and too often Christians burned the books of both Jews and Pagans. The reading and copying of the Jewish Talmud, for example, (which often contained copies of the Old Testament,) were forbidden by the emperor Justinian, by many of the French* and Spanish kings, and by several of the popes. In the year 1569, twelve thousand copies of it were thrown into the flames at Cremona. The Goths and Saracens burned, on principle, all Christian books wherever they found them. When Buda was taken by the Turks, a vast sum was offered to redeem the great library founded there by one of the Hungarian monarchs. The library was rich in Greek, Hebrew, and ancient classic manuscripts ; thirty transcribers having been employed for many years in copying and illuminating them. The offer, however, was made in vain, and the whole were destroyed. The extent to which this destruction was carried may be gathered from the circumstance, that though the Roman emperor Tacitus (A. D. 275) had copies of the works of his great namesake and ancestor, the historian, placed in all the libraries of the empire, and every year had ten copies transcribed, nearly the whole have been lost. A considerable part of his writings we owe to a single copy, while some other parts are entirely wanting.

It must be added that the writing of many

* See Jortin's Remarks, vol. iii., pp. 64, 313

mss. has been wilfully obliterated. Through the scarcity of parchment, great estates were often transferred in the middle ages by a mere verbal agreement, and the delivery of earth and stones before witnesses, without any written deed. Parchment was so scarce, that about the year 1120, "master Hugh," being appointed by the convent of St. Edmondsbury to write and illuminate a copy of the Bible for their library, could procure no material for this purpose in England. This scarcity tempted the needy or the unscrupulous to efface even the Scriptures, that the parchment might be devoted to some profitable use. So early had these practices begun, that in the seventh century (690) the council of Trullo found it necessary to notice and condemn them.*

Historians have been deeply impressed with these considerations; and some have ascribed the revival and extension of learning in modern times to the invention, not of printing, but of paper.†

Comparing the number of manuscripts of Scripture, however, with those of ancient classic authors which have come down to us, we have great reason to feel grateful. An ample provision has been made for the preservation of the sacred text—a provision, too, which sustains this view of the large number of copies of Scripture in early times. The manuscripts of

* Wetstein's *Prolegom.* and Warton's *English Poetry*, vol. i., quoted by Townley.

† Hallam.

classic authors generally amount to ten or twenty. Of Herodotus, for example, we have fifteen manuscripts, all belonging to periods between the tenth and fifteenth centuries. This is the average number, and is deemed sufficient to determine the text. Of the New Testament upwards of six hundred manuscripts have been collated, and more are known to exist. Of these, about one hundred belong to periods between the fourth century and the tenth. Of Hebrew manuscripts, again, upwards of one thousand three hundred have been examined—numbers which indicate a much more extensive multiplication of copies than ever took place, even in the case of the most renowned of ancient heathen writers.

The full amount of blessing conferred upon mankind by these versions and copies of the Bible, it is impossible to estimate. There must have been thousands of manuscripts, and millions must have heard or read them. Even when the use of them came to be confined to the clergy, it is highly probable that there were among that class many conscientious men who communicated to others what they themselves had heard and felt of the word of life. The general result upon the state of the ancient world even Gibbon admits. Within four centuries after the death of our Lord, Christians formed the majority throughout the Roman empire; “and it must be confessed,” says the historian, “that Christianity mitigated the

fierceness of the times, sheltered the poor and defenceless, and preserved or revived the peace and order of civil society." Believing, as we do, that the word of God never returns to him void, can we help hoping that thousands, from the Vistula to the Tigris, received it into their hearts, and died under its sustaining and sanctifying influence? The millions who are now before the throne have come up out of "every nation, and kindred, and people, and tongue."

CHAPTER III.

THE BIBLE AND THE REFORMATION.

FROM the days of Jerome, we pass on to the twelfth century, indicating briefly some of the changes which had taken place in the interval.

The fall of the Roman empire, and the establishment on its ruins of the barbarian kingdoms of the Goths and Lombards, was followed, as is well known, by the universal neglect of all learning ; a result to which other causes contributed, but which was greatly accelerated by the public calamities consequent on that invasion. The gospel had already been carried to the utmost borders of the Roman world ; but from that time it shrivelled and contracted, till it was scarcely to be found, even within the nominally professing church. Not, however, that all was dark. In Ireland and England, the Greek and Latin tongues were cultivated, even during the sixth and seventh centuries, with some assiduity and success. In Iona, also, one of the Hebrides, Columba had founded a monastery, whence "savage clans and roving barbarians long derived the benefits

of knowledge, and the blessings of religion."* In the eighth, the venerable Bede studied and translated the original Scriptures, and was, besides, a diligent compiler of our annals. He states, moreover, that in his time the Scots and Irish possessed portions of Scripture† in their own language, though all trace of them has now perished. Somewhat later, the school of York sent forth Alcuin, the friend of Charlemagne, who, by the assistance of that scholar, laid the foundation in his vast dominions for the revival of letters. Among the clergy themselves, the study of the Scriptures was not entirely neglected, the monks devoting a large part of their time to the multiplication of manuscripts of the sacred volume.‡ In all Roman Catholic countries, moreover, the corruptions of the church, and the study of the Latin Vulgate, had called the attention of men to a holier morality and a purer faith than were to be found in her communion; so that, during the darkest parts of the middle ages, there were many bright spots; while the use of the Bible, and the very corruptions of the established system, suggested the need of a reform.

In the meantime, also, a new method of treating theology had been introduced. In the early ages of the church, theology was built upon Scripture. The fathers took the sacred text, and interpreted it according to what they deemed to be its meaning. This was the *first* and sound method. In the eighth century,

* Dr. Johnson. † Bede, book i. cap. i. ‡ See Hody.

however, or somewhat earlier, (the Benedictines of St. Maur fixing the eighth, and Mosheim the sixth century, as the commencement of this practice,) the fathers themselves began to be employed as authorities conjointly with Scripture and ecclesiastical decisions. Hence were formed *loci communes*, (common-places,) and *catenæ patrum*, which consisted of digested extracts, taken from the Fathers and placed under systematic heads. This was the *second*, or traditional method. A little later, a *third* method of study was introduced, not less mischievous. This system was founded on an application of the Aristotelian logic to theology, which thus became a science, not of interpretation, but of reasoning. It began with our countrymen, Anselm and Lanfranc; and commencing in the ninth century, had reached its perfection, such as it was, in the thirteenth. The influence of the *second* of these methods on the circulation of the Bible is obvious. Its *origin* it owed probably to a consciousness of inferiority on the part of the ecclesiastics of that day to the early fathers; in part, also, to a growing jealousy of the free exercise of individual judgment in matters of faith, especially under a system which combined with some Scripture doctrines much that was corrupt; in part to a desire to keep religion as far as possible under the control of the ecclesiastical order. Its *effect* was to make the study of Scripture a secondary duty, even with the clergy. The Bible *alone* was no longer the religion of the

church.* It must be added, that during these centuries the Romish church herself had become grossly degenerate. From the days of Gregory the Great (590,) the progress of the papacy is little else than an outrage on religion, morality, and freedom. The five centuries following that time are admitted by even Fleury, the Roman historian, to be "destitute both of learning and of virtue."

Meantime, changes of considerable importance to our history had taken place elsewhere. The Mohammedan power had arisen in Arabia, and pushed its conquests to Babylon on the one side, and to Spain on the other ; while on the east of Europe it was threatening Constantinople. It carried with it wherever it went the Arabic tongue, which soon became vernacular through all that region. Within the range of the old Roman empire in *Western Europe*, the Latin language was gradually undergoing modifications. In the seventh century, the clergy generally preached in Latin, and their teaching in that tongue was intelligible to their hearers. In the ninth, the council of Tours (813) ordered that homilies should be read to the people in the *patois*, or rustic Latin, as it was called, of the respective districts. In three centuries later, this rustic Latin had become Italian in Italy, French in France, Spanish and Portuguese in the Peninsula ; those languages being a mixture of Latin, with forms of speech peculiar to each of those countries.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 12.

In *Eastern* Europe, ancient Greek had continued for centuries to hold its place. The transference of the seat of the empire, from Rome to Constantinople, brought into it many Latin forms. Still later, the Venetian and French conquests, and the Crusades, introduced elements from Western Europe. The victories of the Arabs added many Arabic terms ; so that, by the close of this period, Greek had become Romaic, a dialect bearing the same relation to the ancient language of Greece, as does the Italian to the Latin. For centuries later, however, the ancient Greek continued to be used for ecclesiastical purposes. In England, again, the original Celtic had given place to Anglo-Saxon, and this tongue was struggling, towards the close of the twelfth century, with the influence of the Norman-French—a struggle in which, however, it was ultimately the victor. By the *fourteenth century*, there was to be found in all these languages, to a small extent, a national literature.

In the twelfth century, the *south of France* was the most flourishing and civilized district of Europe. The people had a distinct political existence, being independent of the house of Capet, who then ruled over their northern neighbours, and subject only to the counts of Toulouse. Their usages and language bespeak a mixed origin. There were traces among them of a Gothic element ; and history tells us that many of the Visigoths had settled in their

vicinity. Still more numerous were the traces of a Roman influence, their very language taking one of its titles (the Romance) from the prevalence in it of forms and expressions of the Latin tongue. There was some trace also of Greek, derived probably from intercourse with the city of Marseilles, which had been centuries before occupied by a Greek colony. The soil of this region was remarkably fruitful. Amidst vineyards and corn-fields arose many noble cities and stately castles, the whole tenanted by a generous-spirited people. Here the rude, warlike genius of the middle ages first took a graceful form. A literature, rich in story and in song, sprang up and amused the leisure of knights and ladies whose mansions adorned the banks of the Rhine. Professors of the "gay science" from Languedoc and Provence won golden opinions from the courtly Saladin and lion-hearted Richard in Palestine, and nearly every court in Europe did honour to their skill. Elsewhere the name of Mussulman made men's faces grow dark and fierce, but here the people lived in habits of courteous and profitable intercourse with the Moors of Spain, and gave welcome to scholars and learned leeches, who, in the Arabic seminaries of Cordova and Grenada, had become versed in the science of the east. Into this district, moreover, the inquisitive busy Greek had imported, not only the treasures of Syria and Ind, but some of the modes of thinking prevalent among his countrymen, and the marts of Toulouse and Narbonne

had become schools of eastern theology and learning. No wonder, therefore, that for ages the power of the Romish church in this district had been on the wane, and that her assumptions and corruptions were regarded with no friendly or lenient eye ; indeed, as early as the year 1163, the archbishop of Narbonne complains in an address to Louis VII. of France, " that the Catholic faith is extremely shaken in this our diocese, and St. Peter's boat is so violently tossed with waves, that it is in great danger of sinking." How completely this statement was in accordance with facts, may be gathered from the notices of the author of the " Belgian Chronicle." (1208 A. D.) " The error of the Albigenses," says he, " prevailed in this district to that degree, that it had infested as much as *a thousand cities* ; and if it had not been suppressed by the swords of the faithful, I think it would have corrupted the whole of Europe." Whether, in spite of the swords of the faithful, the whole of Europe did not become corrupted, we shall presently see.

Our business is with the progress and influence of the Bible, or we might notice that, long before the period of which we are speaking, a purer faith had found refuge in this district. Here was born Vigilantius, who opposed the erroneous observances which were becoming numerous in the Romish church ; and here, after he had been condemned by Ambrose, bishop of Milan, he laboured, leaving behind him in the neighbourhood of the Alps, a name

that was long fragrant. Indeed, it is expressly admitted by one of the Romish authorities, "that the city of Narbonne had never been clear of the detestable pestilence of heresy," by which he meant the rejection of the dogmas of the church of Rome, and an adherence to the teaching of Scripture as the only rule of faith. But our business is with the Bible and its versions.

It was in this region, then, where the people first emerged from barbarism, where a vernacular tongue was first used in modern times for literary purposes, where the connexion with Switzerland, Italy, France, and Spain was most direct, that we find some of the most eminent of the precursors of the reformation. Here, in the twelfth century, Peter de Bruys, Henry of Toulouse, P. Waldo of Lyons, and his friend Arnold of Albi, all laboured. Though not the originators of the movements which were sometimes called by their names, they undoubtedly gave to those movements a force and impetus which were crowned with the most happy results. Their efforts had singular success. The secret of that success Reimer, an inquisitor of the thirteenth century, explains. "It is owing," he says, "to the great zeal of these people: all of them, men and women, by night and by day, never cease from teaching and learning. It is owing to their practice of translating the Old and New Testament into the vulgar tongues, and their teaching and speaking according to them." "I have heard," he adds, "that there are many who perfectly know the New Testa-

ment." He complains that their numbers were so increased, that there was no country free from them, and that in the diocese of Paris alone their schools amounted to one and forty. To these Albigenses Spain owes her earliest version of Scripture. Perhaps, too, to their influence we owe some of the earliest French translations. In the British Museum there is a beautiful ms. on vellum of a French version of the Bible, which was found in the tent of king John, father of Charles v., after the battle of Poictiers, where he was taken prisoner by Edward the Black Prince.*

It was probably owing to the influence of the same body, that the clergy of the south of France resolved, at a council held at Vienne, in Dauphiné, to have the oriental languages, Hebrew, Syriac, Arabic, and Greek, taught in the public schools, and that the sacred Scriptures in those languages should be applied to the conversion of the Saracens.†

To a native of the same district we owe the first concordance of the Scriptures ever compiled. It was the work of Hugo di Caro, or cardinal Hugo, as he is commonly called. He was born at Vienne, and studied at Paris in 1225. His concordance was in Latin, and he is said to have employed five hundred monks in preparing it. He divided the Bible into chapters, and those chapters again he subdivided by putting in the margin the letters

* Warton's History of English Poetry, vol. iii. p. 204.

† Apthorpe's Discourses on Prophecy, vol. ii. p. 368.

A. B. C, etc. To these divisions his concordance refers. The first *English* concordance was much later, and was made by Marbecke, organist at Windsor, and dedicated to the pious king Edward vi., in 1550; but it referred only to chapters and sections, not to verses.* It would not be easy to say how much we owe in our times to the care and pains bestowed by the authors of Scripture concordances. [They began with a native of the country of the Albigenses.] The first *English* concordance cost the compiler his liberty, and would have cost him his life, but for the consideration of Henry viii., who pardoned him “for his ingenuity and diligence.”

The conversion and labours of Peter Waldo carry us into other countries. He was himself a wealthy merchant of Lyons, and living in a careless way like most of his neighbours. A sudden attack of illness brought him to the borders of the grave, and produced a deep impression upon his mind of his mortality and sinfulness. Being a man of education, he read, on his recovery, the Latin Vulgate; there he found the peace he sought, and became a decidedly Christian man. He then began to make efforts on behalf of his countrymen. He abandoned his mercantile pursuits, and consecrated his property to the poor as their necessities required. Finding the people generally ignorant of Scripture, he translated the four Gospels, and afterwards the Epistles of

* See Townley's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 118.

Paul, into French, "and being somewhat learned," says the Roman inquisitor, when speaking of him, "he taught the people the text of the New Testament in their own tongue." "His kindness to the poor," says one of the authors of the "Centuries of Magdeburgh," "being diffused, his love of teaching and their love of learning grew stronger and stronger, so that great crowds came to him, and he explained the Scriptures to them all." To Peter Waldo, therefore, Europe owes the first translation of a part of Scripture into a modern vernacular language.

We obtain a brief but instructive insight into the mode of teaching adopted by Waldo and his followers from the reports of the inquisitor Pieronetta. A widow is examined, and confesses, "That there came to the house of Peter Formerius, her husband, two strangers, in grey clothes, who, as it seemed to her, spake Italian, or the dialect of Lombardy, whom her husband took into his house for the love of God. That whilst they were there, at night, after supper, one of them began to read a godly book, which he carried about with him, saying, that therein were contained the gospel and other precepts of the law, and that he would explain and speak the same in the presence of all who were present: God having sent him to go up and down the world like the apostles, to reform the Catholic faith, and to preach to the good and simple, showing them how to worship God and keep his commandments."*

* Allix's Remarks, pp. 277, 322.

It does not appear that Waldo had at first any intention of leaving the Romish communion. As he grew in the knowledge of the Scriptures, however, he discovered many doctrines and usages of that church which seemed at variance with the word of God. He first rejected transubstantiation, and then lifted up his voice against the arrogance of the pope and the vices of the clergy. These efforts aroused the hostility of the archbishop of Lyons: their tendency could not be mistaken: he resolved, therefore, to apprehend and imprison the offender. For some time, however, his attempts to take him failed, and during three years Waldo* lived concealed from his foes in his native city; a result which must be attributed in part to the number of his friends and converts, and in part to the universal esteem in which his character was held.

At length, however, the attention of pope Alexander III. was called to his proceedings, and he at once anathematized both Waldo and his adherents, and commanded the archbishop to take measures against them with the utmost rigour. Waldo was, therefore, compelled to leave Lyons; his flock also were scattered, but "they went everywhere preaching the word." Numbers of them found an asylum in Piedmont, where they took with them their new

* It seems certain that Waldo rather took his name from the Waldenses, than gave his name to them; the party at all events existed centuries before. The name is taken either from a Latin word, meaning one who lives in a dense valley, that is, a dalesman; or from a German word, meaning one who lives in a wood.

translation of the Bible. There they united with others of the same faith, and are known in history as the Waldenses, or Vaudois. Waldo himself retired into Dauphiné, and thence into Picardy, where he laboured with much activity. Driven thence, he proceeded into Germany, carrying with him in all his wanderings the glad tidings of salvation. At length he settled in Bohemia, where the fruit of his labours was seen, "after many days," in the rapid extension throughout that country of the principles of the Reformation. In Alsace, and along the Rhine, his doctrines also spread extensively, and stirred up, as usual, the hostility of the Romish authorities. At Bingen, eighteen persons were consumed in one fire; at Mentz, thirty-five, and at Strasburg, eighty; their only offence being that they read and believed the Bible. As many as eighty thousand are said to have been put to death in Bohemia in the fourteenth century. In each case, the "blood of the martyrs" became, as we shall see, "the seed of the church."

What has become of Waldo's version is not certainly known. A copy of it was presented to the pope at the Lateran council, in 1179; and at the council of Toulouse (1229) the work was condemned and prohibited, on account of its being written in the vernacular tongue. It is not known that any copy has reached our times, but Dr. Gilly has shown that the text of his version is most probably preserved in the six Romance manuscripts of Scripture which still

exist in the libraries of Dublin, Grenoble, Munich, Lyons, and Paris.*

The history of the revival of religion in southern France is not materially different from its history in other places. In *Italy*, Claude of Turin, and Arnold of Brescia, had already preached the gospel, and explained the Scriptures. A large body of people had attached themselves to these faithful men, and the name of Paterines, by which they are known, (from *pati*, to suffer,) indicates the treatment they received at the hands of the ruling powers. In the *Lower Danube*, and in *Germany*, a purer faith than that taught by the church of Rome had long prevailed, preparing the way for the Scriptural teaching of Waldo. Somewhat later, Wycliffe commenced and carried on a precisely similar work in *England*. The Bible was

* The canon of the council of Toulouse is the first on record against the reading of the Bible. It ordains that no "layman should have the books of the Old and New Testament; only they who out of devotion desire it, may have a Psalter, a Breviary, and the 'Hours of the Virgin.' But even these are not on any account to be translated into the vulgar tongue.—See "Jortin's Remarks," vol. iii. p. 311.

A hundred and forty years before (1080,) Gregory had told the king of Bohemia, who wished to have the offices of the church translated into the Sclavonic, that he knew not what he asked, and that the word of God, to be revered, must be concealed.—Basnage, "Histoire de l'Eglise," vol. ii. p. 1575, quoted in Townley's "Anecdotes," p. 124.

Pope John VIII. was of another mind. "We approve," said he, in 880, "of the Sclavonian letters, invented by Constantine, and we order that the praises of Christ may be published in that language. It is not contrary to the faith to employ it in the public prayers of the church, and in reading the Holy Scriptures. He who made the three principal tongues, Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, made the rest also for his own glory."—Fleury, quoted by Jortin, vol. iii. page 104.

translated ; an attempt was made in parliament to condemn the translation, but failed through the manliness of John of Gaunt. He boldly affirmed that Englishmen " would not be the dregs of all, seeing other nations have the law of God, which is the law of our faith written in their own language." In 1408, however, the translation and the perusal of the Scriptures were formally prohibited in a convocation held at Oxford under archbishop Arundel.

These revivals of religion—all connected, it will be noticed, with the use of the Scriptures in the vernacular tongue, and the explanation of them to the people—had various results. Among the first was an appeal by the pope to the people of northern France to suppress, by force of arms, the heresy which had sprung up on their southern frontier. To encourage such a movement, he offered to the superstitious pardons as ample as had been offered, a century before, to the deliverers of the holy sepulchre. To the profligate, he offered the fertile and wealthy cities of the heretics. In answer to this appeal, a " war, distinguished even among wars of religion by its merciless atrocity," destroyed the Albigensian heresy, and with it the literature and national existence of the most opulent and intelligent part of Europe. Rome also bethought herself of other plans for strengthening her policy ; she instituted the order of Francis and the order of Dominic—friars grey and black ; and set up the tribunal of the

Inquisition, hoping thus to fortify herself by the gratitude, if she might, and at all events by the terror, of mankind. Among the lessons taught her by this history—the history of the revival of religion *before* the Reformation—was the power of the Bible, a power which she now began to regard with a dread she has never subsequently lost.

Two hundred and fifty eventful years bring us to the time of the Reformation. During that interval the papacy underwent painful changes. The pope had been seized in his own palace by the soldiers of the king of France, and carried off to Avignon. Two claimants of the supreme power in the church, each with a doubtful title, had made Europe ring with their mutual recriminations and anathemas, and men's minds had become everywhere unsettled. This danger to the influence of the papacy, however, had passed away. The council of Constance put an end to this unseemly dispute, and once more united the Catholic world under one head. The Albigenses, and other heretics, had been slaughtered in great numbers ; the Lollards had been put down in England ; none dared to “peep or mutter,” so complete seemed the re-establishment of the papal authority.

The times, however, had also changed. The church had no longer a monopoly of learning ; lawyers, and educated men generally, viewed her encroachments with suspicion. In most of the towns of Europe the burghers had made

great progress in freedom. And, above all, the invention of printing in the fifteenth century had increased the facilities of intercourse between mind and mind. It is to be feared, too, that the vices of the clergy, including the very orders which had been instituted to strengthen the church, had become so gross as to produce general distrust. It is at least a significant fact, that much of the earlier literature of nearly all modern languages consists of satires on their ignorance and immorality.

Under such circumstances the Reformation commenced. In fifty years from the time when Luther renounced communion with the papacy, and burned the bull of Leo at the gates of Wittemberg, Protestantism had become predominant throughout half of Europe. In England, Scotland, Denmark, Sweden, Prussia, Saxony, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, a large part of Switzerland, and all the northern Netherlands, the Reformation had triumphed. Such a change within so brief a period is without a parallel in history. To what cause is it to be ascribed?

To this question historians have given various replies. The northern nations of Europe, it is said, detested the dominion of men who, like the Italians, were aliens in blood and in language. The observances of the church were a burden which men were unwilling to bear. The large sums which, under different pretexts, were exacted by the court of Rome, were often felt to be an humbling, as well as a

costly tribute. The character of that court, moreover, and its representatives, could not fail to excite the disgust of a grave, devout, and earnest race. Such are the explanations which are sometimes given of the rapid progress of the Reformation ; and no doubt all the circumstances thus enumerated had force among the early friends of the new theology. But other influences were at work ; and it may be questioned whether those just named were the chief. France and Spain, for example, though not fond of the government of foreigners, continued submissive. England had for centuries disowned the temporal power of the pope, and declined to pay him tribute, without casting off, however, her spiritual allegiance. The vices of the court of Rome, moreover, are hardly sufficient to explain the ready reception given to a new faith. In fact, these explanations, true as far as they go, leave out of view the mightiest influence of all, the power of the Bible among the people.

The proof of this power is twofold. *First*, it was extensively circulated through a large part of Europe before the Reformation began, and the evidence of its circulation is, to all who understand the Bible, evidence of its influence. And, *secondly*, this circulation of the Bible was regarded with bitter hostility by the Romish church, and she ascribed to it most of the disasters which the Reformation introduced. This twofold proof we proceed to lay before our readers.

The name of the inventor of printing is not *certainly* known ; but it is agreed on all hands that the first book ever printed was the Latin Vulgate, and that it came from the press some time between the years A.D. 1450 and 1455. This edition is known among bibliographers as the Mazarin Bible, and there are not less than eighteen copies of it in the different libraries of Europe. It shows the spirit of the inventors that at the outset they attempted to print so large a work, and executed it with such astonishing success. It illustrates, too, the esteem in which Scripture was held. May we not regard it, moreover, as a token for good that the first-fruits of this new art were dedicated to the holiest cause, and placed on the altar of religion ? By the year 1459, two copies of the Psalter had been printed, and in 1460 the Bible was printed in German, at Bamberg, by Pfiester. In 1462, Fust, who had been partner with Gutenberg, the probable inventor of the new art, published a *second* edition of the Bible in German, at Mentz, the town giving its name to the edition. Throughout the German empire there were published, between the year 1461 and 1470, seven editions of the Bible, of which five were in Latin and two in German. In 1471, the Bible was printed in *Italian*, by Malermi, a Venetian, and two other editions of that or a different version were issued the same year ; eleven editions in Italian are enumerated by Panzer as published before the close of the fifteenth century. A *Flemish* version appeared

at Cologne in 1475, at Delft in 1477, at Gouda in 1479. A *Valencian* or *Catalan* version appeared at Valentia, in Spain, in 1478. Every copy of this edition, however, has been destroyed, though there is preserved a final leaf containing the names of the translator and printer.* This version owes its origin to the Christians of southern France. In *Bohemia*, where Huss laboured, manuscript copies of the Bible were largely multiplied after his martyrdom. As early as the year 1415, pope Pius the second (then known as *Æneas Sylvius*) remarks that it was a shame to the Italian priests of that age that many of them had not read the whole of the New Testament, whilst scarcely a Bohemian woman could be found who could not answer any question taken out of any part of the Bible.† From 1410 to 1488, no less than four different recensions of the entire Scriptures can be distinctly traced, and many more of the New Testament. About thirty-three copies of the whole Bible, and twenty-two of the New Testament, all written during this period, are still extant, having survived the bitterest persecution. In 1488, the whole Bible in Bohemian was *printed*, and between that date and 1804, as many as fourteen large editions issued from the press. It is an interesting addition to these facts to find that Ann, the queen of Richard the second of England, possessed copies of the Bible in Latin, German, and Bohemian—the first instance on record of a royal collector of these sacred books.

* Hallam, vol. i. p. 172. † Bagster: *The Bible in every Land*.

Of the Bible in *French* we have also more than one edition. In 1477, a complete version was printed by an Augustinian monk at Paris. Another edition, containing, however, only the historical parts of Scripture, was printed in 1487 by command of Charles the eighth; and between 1512 and 1530 a version was published at Antwerp by Jaques le Fevre. This book is the basis of all other French versions, Protestant as well as Roman Catholic. The ancient *Sclavonic* version was printed, as we have seen, at Montenegro, before the close of the fifteenth century—manuscript copies of all these versions existed much earlier than the date of printing. *Polish* and *Danish* versions also existed, though they were not printed till after the Reformation had begun. All these versions, it may be added, were made for the most part from the Latin Vulgate. They all preceded the Reformation, and all preceded the first *published* English Testament by Tyndale, (1527.)

Of the number of editions, and the consequent extent to which the Bible was circulated in the fifteenth century, it is less easy to speak; but there are facts which may serve to guide our conclusion. Panzer, the authority on this question, states that between the year 1450, the date of the invention of printing, and 1500, there were printed not less than ten thousand editions of different books. Some reckon as many even as fifteen thousand. Of these, ninety-one were editions of the Vulgate. Again: out of the twenty-four editions of different books

which were printed between the years 1461 and 1470, *seven* were editions, as we have seen, of the Scriptures. Combining these facts, it is not too much to say that before the labours of Luther had assumed a definite form, there must have been printed as many as one hundred and fifty editions of the Bible. Evidence of another kind corroborates this view. In 1559, the first index of books prohibited by "the church" was set forth by pope Paul iv: the index includes Bibles *in all modern languages*, and enumerates forty-eight editions, chiefly printed in countries still under the power of the church. Sixty-one printers are also put under a general ban, and all works from their presses are forbidden. In addition to this list, the council of Trent had a prohibited index of its own.

The number of copies printed in each edition must, of course, have varied. In a petition presented in 1472 by printers of that day to Sixtus iv., they complain of their poverty, and say it was brought upon them by printing so many books which they had not been able to sell. They state that of classic authors each edition generally consisted of two hundred and seventy-five copies, and that an edition of a theological work (including the Bible) consisted of five hundred and fifty. Reckoning moderately, therefore, one hundred and fifty editions of Scripture, and four hundred copies of each, it appears that there must have been as many as sixty thousand copies of the Scriptures printed, and circulated partly in Latin and

partly in the vernacular languages of central Europe, *before* the Reformation.

The fall of price in books, consequent on the art of printing, bore a proportion to the increase of their numbers, though, of course, the price was kept up for some time through the extended demand. In the middle ages, a manuscript was sometimes bought at the price of a considerable estate, and the sale or loan even of a book was often solemnly registered by public acts. When Louis XI. of France wished to borrow a manuscript from the library of the Faculty of Paris, he had to deposit one hundred golden crowns, and his treasurer sold part of the royal plate to make up the amount; this last fact occurred in the middle of the fifteenth century. Somewhat earlier the countess of Anjou bought a favourite book of Homilies for two hundred sheep and a hundred bushels of wheat and rye. A student of Paris, who had run through his property, raised a new fortune by pawning a manuscript "book of laws;" and a grammarian, who had been ruined by a fire, rebuilt his house with two small volumes of Cicero. In some of those instances, no doubt, the high price given is to be attributed to a temporary scarcity of the volumes, or to the peculiar value of certain copies. The common price, however, for a folio volume of no rarity in the fourteenth century, is reckoned by Lambinet as equal to twenty pounds sterling in modern money, and in this estimate Hallam seems to agree.

The invention of printing produced a great change. It took off at once four-fifths of the price, and in a few years the universities laid down a tariff of prices even lower. Though, therefore, there is still room to contrast our modern prices with even these—an English Bible for tenpence, and a Chinese Testament for sixpence—yet this great reduction must have brought the sacred books within the reach of thousands who had previously found it impossible to obtain them.

Modern inquiry has elicited similar facts in the history of our own country. In twenty-eight years of the reigns of Henry VIII. and Edward VI., upwards of a hundred editions of the Old and New Testaments seem to have been printed and circulated in England. We may safely ascribe to this cause therefore much of the progress of the principles of the Reformation, both in our own country and on the continent.

That this circulation of the Scriptures was extensive enough in the opinion of the authorities to do great mischief, is clear from the steps taken by them. To appeal to the New Testament was the heresy of all the reformed ; and in the case of the Waldenses, the Paterines, and others, the practice had been forbidden by successive councils. Nor had the spirit of the hierarchy undergone any extensive change. As early as 1486, Berthold, the archbishop of Mentz, issued a mandate, rebuking what he called “the abuse of printing,” the “conversion of what was intended for the instruction of

mankind to their injury." "Already," says he "books on the duties and doctrines of religion are translated from Latin into German, and circulated among the people, to the disgrace of religion itself." "Can these men assert," he adds, "that our German language is capable of expressing what great authors have written in Greek and Latin on the high mysteries of the Christian faith? Certainly it is not, and hence they either invent new words, or use old ones in erroneous senses, a thing especially dangerous in sacred Scripture. For who will admit that men without learning, or women into whose hands these translations may fall, can find the true sense of the Gospels, or of the Epistles of St. Paul? But since this art was discovered in this city of Mentz—and we may truly say by Divine aid—and is to be maintained by us in all its honour, we strictly forbid all persons to translate, or circulate when translated, any books upon any subject whatever, until, before printing and again before their sale, such translations shall be approved by four doctors, under penalty of excommunication, the forfeiture of the books, and the payment into our exchequer of one hundred golden crowns."* In 1501, Alexander iv. issued a bull to the same purpose. He recites that many pernicious books had been printed in various parts of the world, and especially in the provinces of Cologne and Mentz, Treves, and Magdeburgh, and forbids all printers in those

* See the whole in Hallam, vol. i. p. 250.

provinces to publish any books without the licence of the archbishops or their officials. It was clearly the translation of religious books, and especially of the Scriptures, that excited this alarm.

In confirmation of the same conclusion, we may add that at the council of Trent, in 1545, the very first discussion turned upon the sufficiency and place of the sacred volume. Several voices, including those of high dignitaries in the church, were loudly raised in favour of the Protestant view. "Nothing but Scripture;" "All that is necessary for salvation," they maintained, "is given in the New Testament."* By a large majority, however, this opinion was overruled. "Written tradition, received through the church, must be regarded," they decided, "with like reverence as holy writ;" a decision which, it was well said, did half their work. The use of Scripture in the vernacular was then formally condemned, and the condemnation was afterwards drawn up and published by the pope in his own form. "As it is manifest," said he, "by experience, that if the use of the holy writers is permitted in the vulgar tongue, more evil than good will arise, because of the temerity of man; it is for this reason all Bibles are prohibited, with all their parts, whether they be printed or written, in whatever vulgar language soever; as also are prohibited all summaries or abridgments of Bibles, or of any books of the holy writings, although they

* Ranke, book ii.

should be only historical, and that in whatever vulgar tongue they may be written.”*

Connecting these facts with the extensive circulation of the Scriptures, it may be safely affirmed, that as Luther owed his conversion to Scripture, so to the circulation of Scripture throughout northern Europe the Reformation itself owed its origin and progress. It prospered, in brief, with the study of the Bible.

In ascribing influence to the Bible as one main cause of the Reformation, it is implied that the Reformation itself was to a large extent a *spiritual* movement; and of this fact we have ample evidence. It is true that men had grown weary of the scholastic theology, and turned to Scripture from curiosity. Many doubted, moreover, the teaching of those whose lives were a scandal to the gospel. But there was, besides, a liking for the spiritual truths which the Reformation embodied. Hallam has remarked, that at the beginning of the eighteenth century, nearly every considerable city even in Italy contained a small band of men who were Protestants at heart. They did not in general abandon the outward profession of the Romish faith, but in opinion they really coincided with Luther.† Men of this class were especially numerous in Venice and northern Italy. There might be seen, towards the close of the fifteenth century, Bruccioli, the translator of the Italian

* D’Israeli: “Curiosities of Literature, First Series.”

† Ibid. vol. i. p. 363.

Scriptures, Nardi the historian, the Benedictine Marco of Padua, Contarini, and Valdez ; the last, the supposed author of a little treatise on "The Benefits of the Death of Christ," now more justly attributed to his contemporary, Paleario. There, also, might be seen the Englishman, Reginald Pole. These men all sought to stay the corruptions of the church by the revived force of religious convictions, and among the foremost of their doctrines was that doctrine of justification by faith which, as taught by Luther, was at the foundation of the Protestant movement. On this subject, Contarini, afterwards a cardinal, wrote a small tract, which Pole knows not how sufficiently to praise. "Thou hast," he says to him, "brought to light that jewel which the church kept half buried." Pole himself finds that Scripture, in its profound connexion, preaches nothing else, and he congratulates his friend that he should begin the disclosure of "that holy, fruitful, and indispensable truth." From the notification of the Inquisition on the work of Paleario, we gather similar evidence. "This book," they say, "ascribes everything to faith alone, and, forasmuch as that is the very point on which so many prelates and monks stumble, the book has been diffused to an unusual extent."*

On the other hand, the preference of the church for tradition and her rejection of the Scriptures is to be traced to her dislike of the doctrines of the gospel, and her conviction

* Quoted by Ranke, book ii.

that the Bible condemns many of her practices. All the doctrines and claims for which no fair ground can be discovered in Scripture find in tradition their shelter and home : "nor is there any scheme of oppression, of deceit or cruelty, of ambition, avarice, or superstition, for which some sanctioning tradition may not be drawn from the rubbish of the middle ages."* On the suppression of the Bible, therefore, and the maintenance of tradition, everything depended — a view which happily Romish writers themselves have maintained. In a letter addressed by three bishops to Julius III., on the "most effectual means of establishing and advancing the apostolic see," they give as their crowning piece of advice the following: "Finally," they say, "and we have reserved this advice for the last, because it is the most important that we are able in the circumstances to give to your holiness, you must watch with the utmost care, and effect by all means in your power, that only the smallest portion possible of the gospel (above all in the language of the people) be read in the countries subject to your dominion and which acknowledge your power. Let that little suffice which is read in the service of the mass, and let no one be permitted to read more. It is the fact, that so long as men have remained content with this small portion of the Scriptures, so long your interests have prospered and your maxims have prevailed. On the contrary, your authority, both

* Dr. Pye Smith.

temporal and spiritual, has been continually declining from the moment that the common people have usurped a pretended right to read more. Above all, it is that book which, more than any other, has raised against us these agitations and storms which have driven us to the very brink of the pit: and it must be acknowledged that if any person examines it minutely, and then compares separately its contents with what is practised in our churches, he will find very great differences, and will see that our doctrines are not only quite different from what the Scripture teaches, but still further, are often entirely opposed to it. Therefore, from the moment that the people, excited by any one of our learned adversaries, shall have acquired this knowledge, the outcry against us will not cease till all is divulged, and we become the objects of universal hatred. Therefore, those very few writings must be kept from notice, but yet with due caution and exact care, lest the measure should raise against us still greater uproar and disturbance.” This document is dated Bologna, Oct. 20, 1533.* It sounds strange to our ears and well nigh incredible. There is no real ground, however, to doubt its genuineness, and it shows that the question of giving the Bible to the people really involved the very existence of the Romish church, and completes the evidence of the spirituality of the movement of the Reformation. It was

* See Dr. P. Smith’s Reasons for the Protestant Religion, 1851, p. 47.

clearly regarded as a question between evangelical truth and dead ceremonies—between the authority of God and the usurpations of men.

With these facts before us, we are prepared to estimate the correctness of the statements sometimes set forth by Roman Catholic writers. The church of Rome, they say, holds in all points the ancient faith; as a rule, the Bible is not withheld from the people; they have liberty to read it; to prohibit the Bible is the exception,* nay, more, in most countries the Roman Catholics have been the first to translate the Bible and to circulate it.

These are bold and sweeping assertions, and would be found to be false *in fact*, did we attempt to test them by the practice of Roman Catholic countries. Primitive Christians, as we have seen, gave the Bible to the people, and exhorted them to read it. Ever since the twelfth century, and even before, it has been the practice of the Romish church to deny the Bible, and to forbid the people to read it. Fenelon has manfully brought together the bulls, ordinances, and decrees in which this prohibition is enforced. Councils, synods, and popes have all concurred in this view; nor is there a single country in Europe where the translation of the Scriptures into the vernacular language, and the perusal of them by the people, has not been authoritatively condemned. Now, the dilemma is obvious; if herein Rome copies

* Charles Butler's Works, vol. iv. p. 211.

the early Christian church, what means the admission of Fenelon to the effect, that the practice of the early church was the very opposite? If herein she does not copy the early church, what then becomes of her pretended immutability? She now condemns the very things she once allowed.

The other statement, that there has been in the communion of the Romish church a succession of men who have translated the Bible into the vernacular tongues long before the days of the Reformation, we gladly admit; but herein they were none of them good Catholics, for the council of Trent has condemned them all, and the most strenuous efforts had been made long before the Reformation to suppress the versions they had made. Here again the dilemma is obvious; if they did right, why condemn them? And if they did wrong, and were justly condemned, why appeal to their labours as an evidence of the readiness of the Romish church to give the Bible to mankind?

It will be said, no doubt, as it has been said, that the change in the practice of the church was a consequence of the troubles occasioned by the Albigensian heresy. "It should seem," says Fenelon, "that the Waldenses and Albigenses obliged the church to refuse the perusal of the sacred Scriptures to all persons who were not disposed to read them with advantage." "It had become unsafe to permit the people at large to read the sacred text." Perhaps so; but how comes it that, on a point so vital, the

church has departed from the primitive faith? and may we not question the authority and sufficiency of the church herself, as she has questioned the sufficiency of the Bible? There is no end in truth to such pleas. How much more noble is the reasoning of sir Thomas More, a Roman Catholic, but an Englishman—" Which fear," says he, after quoting this very argument, " I promise you nothing feareth me. For whosoever would of their own malice or folly take harm of that thing which is of itself ordained to do all men good, I would never for the avoiding of their harm take from others the profit which they might take and nothing deserve to lose. For else, if the abuse of a good thing should cause that taking away thereof from others that would use it well, Christ should himself never have been born nor brought his faith into the world."*

Having traced the influence of the Bible in preparing the way for the Reformation, let us notice its influence on the Reformation itself.

The nine years which had elapsed between the day when Luther took his degree at Wittemberg, swearing to "teach according to the authority of the Holy Scriptures," and the diet at Worms (1521,) had witnessed great changes. The monk of Erfurt had become a world's talk. His gospel—at once his, and Paul's, and Christ's—had resounded from the plains of Saxony to the walls of Rome, to Paris, and even to

* Dialogues, pp. 114-115.

London. Princes and communities admired and loved him, and thousands were ready for his life to lay down their own.

But the results of his teaching up to this time were faulty in two respects. The Reformation had become concentrated in his person. He was all but worshipped by many of his followers, and when the report was spread that his corpse had been seen pierced through and through, multitudes swore to avenge his death. "The only means left to serve ourselves," said a Roman Catholic to the archbishop of Mentz, "is to light torches, and to look for Luther all over the world till we find him, and restore him to the nation that demands him."* If this excessive admiration and dependence bespoke danger to Luther's humility, it bespoke danger no less imminent to the interests of evangelical truth.

Moreover, widely as the great doctrine of salvation by grace had been diffused by Luther's preaching, it had not as yet altered the outward forms of the church. Justification by faith had as a doctrine effected a lodgment in the hearts of many who never dreamt of questioning the papal authority. Luther himself had earnestly proclaimed it, and had denounced the corruptions, and many of the practices of the Romish church, without abandoning her communion. Thousands had embraced the new faith, and yet they observed the rites and discipline of the ancient creed. In Saxony, and even at

* Merle D'Aubigné, book ix.

Wittemberg, where the Reformation had gained a firm footing, the ritual of the papacy continued its accustomed pomp. Priests inveighed in the pulpit against the mass, and then came down to the altar, and, offering up the host to God, seemed still to work some unspeakable transformation. The faithful still visited favourite shrines, though knowing that there was no other name under heaven given for salvation but the name of Christ ; and votive gifts were hung up on the pillars of churches by men who yet ascribed the praise of their deliverance unto God. “ There was a new faith in the world, but no new works ; the spring sun had appeared, yet winter still bound all nature in its chains.”*

No one can defend these inconsistencies ; but they were natural, and even, in some respects, advantageous. Had Luther commenced the Reformation by seeking to abolish the mass, the confessional, and forms of worship, he would probably have failed ; and the Reformation would have become a question, not of inward life, but of outward devotion. Speaking and acting ever as he felt, he commenced his work with great principles, and with these only at first was he concerned. He preached man’s guilt and Christ’s sufficiency. His ideas wrought upon men’s minds, renewed their hearts, and thus prepared them to cast off the usages and errors which contradicted those principles. He first restored truth in doctrine, and now doctrine must carry truth into the forms

* Merle D’Aubigné.

of the church and into social life. Dogmas are already shaken ; the practices which rest upon them begin also to shake. But the whole must be overthrown.

This double imperfection of the Reformation has now to be remedied. The truth must be built, not upon Luther's books, but upon the word of God. This is the first want. Truth, moreover, must be applied to all institutions and practices, ecclesiastical and social. This is the second : and for both men need the Bible.

How extensive is the *prison literature* of the Christian church ! It was from " his place of confinement," in Aberdeen, that Rutherford sent forth many of his letters. The "certain place," on which Bunyan lighted, and where he wrote his matchless allegory, was Bedford jail; and to the castle of Wartburg we owe Luther's version of the New Testament. Already had the great reformer translated several fragments of Scripture. The seven penitential psalms were published in 1519, and these attempts had been welcomed with avidity. The New Testament had recently been issued for the first time, in the original Greek, by the Roman Catholic cardinal Ximenes, and the Roman Catholic scholar Erasmus. The Vulgate, though on the whole an excellent version, was faulty in many places, and was accessible only to the learned. Earlier German editions were unidiomatic and costly. The time seemed come, therefore, for a new translation. Luther had leisure for it. His friends urged him to prepare

it, and their voice, echoed by providential dispensations, he regarded as the voice of God. His ideas of what was required in a translator may be gathered from the history of his life. He had for years been studying the Hebrew and Greek originals with unparalleled diligence and great success. He resolved, he tells us, to use no learned or courtly words, but such as were simple and vernacular. He sought "assistance and advice wherever" he believed he could obtain them. He held that "if ever the Bible is to be given to the world, it must be done by those who are Christians, and have the mind of Christ; independent of which," he adds, "the knowledge of language is of no avail." And lastly, he entered upon his work under the deep conviction that the eternal interests of man were connected with his success. "Let this one book," says he, "be on all tongues, in all hands, under all eyes, in all pens, and in all hearts." To the cross for righteousness, was the substance of his teachings, and to the Bible for light. "Reason," said Luther, "thinks, Oh ! if I could only for once hear God, I would run for him to the world's end. Hearken, O man ! my brother !—God, the Creator of heaven and earth, speaks here to thee."

His work was hardly finished when he gained his liberty ; and, having revised his version with the help of Melancthon, one of the first Greek scholars of his age, he prepared to send it to the press. With great zeal the work of printing commenced. Three presses were

employed, and as many as ten thousand sheets were struck off every day. At last, on the 21st of September, 1522, the complete edition of three thousand copies appeared, with the simple title, "The New Testament—German—Wittemberg ;" no name being appended. Henceforth, any one could procure the word of God in German for half-a-crown.

The success of this version was unexampled; in a couple of months the whole edition was disposed of, and in December a second edition was issued. Within ten years as many as sixty-eight editions were printed, thirty at Wittemberg and Augsburg, and thirteen at Strasburg. As the first edition was passing through the press, Luther commenced the translation of the *Old Testament*, and in 1530 the whole Bible was published.

The result surpassed all expectation. The new version was written in the very spirit of the sacred books, in a yet virgin tongue, which now, for the first time, displayed its richness and flexibility, and delighted all classes, the humblest as well as the most exalted. It was immediately regarded as a national work, and has never lost its place in the literature of Germany. It fixed and still preserves the German language. Henceforth, moreover, the Reformation was no longer in the hands of the Reformer. Luther retired, giving men the Bible; God himself appeared, and men listened to Him. Hitherto the Reformation had affirmed the doctrine of justification, had denounced

monasticism, and, more recently, had set aside the mass ; but it had done no more. In one writing a solitary truth had been set forth, and an error had been denounced in another. The ancient system was everywhere shaken, but a *new system*, whether of truth or of duty, to occupy its place, was wanting. That want the publication of the New Testament supplied. While Luther was shut up at Wartburg, Melancthon had sketched his work on "Theological Common-places," and had presented a system of doctrine and practice solidly based, and of admirable proportions—a system remarkable for its simplicity and scripturalness. The Bible justified this system, and it proved itself to be, as Erasmus described it, a "complete army ranged in order of battle against the pharisaical tyranny of false doctors." Luther's admiration of it was unbounded. He himself had been labouring to quarry from Scripture single stones ; here they were collected into a majestic edifice. "If you wish to be theologians," said he, "read Melancthon." In seventy years this work passed through sixty-seven editions, without counting translations. Next to the Bible, it contributed most to the establishment of the evangelical doctrine ; but without the Bible it would have been powerless.

Nor less remarkable was the effect of printing the Scriptures on the German nation. They now studied the New Testament with the utmost eagerness. They carried it with them wherever they went, and many of them knew

it by heart. The Vulgate had stirred the inquiry of scholars; but with the publication of Luther's version, Christianity issued from the school and the church, and seated herself by the hearths of the people.

The excitement created among the enemies of the Reformation by this version was proportionate to the joy with which it was received by the reformed. The monk in his cell, and the prince upon his throne, uttered cries, now of anger and now of fear. The king of England denounced the work to the elector Frederick and to the duke of Saxony. The governments of Austria and Bavaria ordered all copies to be placed in the hands of the magistrates, and many were burned. The success of these edicts, however, was by no means equal to the hopes of those who issued them. "Even after my injunctions to the contrary," says the duke of Saxony, "many thousand copies have been sold and read in my dominions."

To counteract its influence, many Roman Catholic versions were also published. Emsner, one of the councillors of the duke of Saxony, issued the first, but his version proved a mere transcript of that of Luther, a few alterations in favour of some of the tenets of the church of Rome alone excepted. An edition, with ampler alterations, was made by the monks of Rostock, in Lower Saxony. In 1534, another monk attempted a new version from the Vulgate, with the same design. He confessed himself, however, to be unacquainted with the

originals, and produced a mere transcript of Luther's; another of his opponents, John Eckius, of Ingoldstadt, in Bavaria, published the Old Testament in 1537, subjoining a correct edition of Emsner's New Testament, and this version, corrected from time to time, has often been reprinted. Various other Roman Catholic versions have also been made; one in 1631, by Caspar Utenberg, under the patronage of the elector of Cologne; another, in 1808, by Willman and others, at Ratisbon; another, in 1812, by the brothers Van Ess; another, by Gosner of Munich, in 1815; and another, by Kistemaker at Münster, in 1825. All, however, are on the basis of Luther's version, and it illustrates his influence to notice that in the German polyglot Bible, published in 1849, the editors give the text of Luther, and give, in the margin, the variations of the most important German versions. "It is very perceptible," said Luther, "that papists, from my translation and other German works, have learned to preach and write in German also, and steal, as it were, my own language from me without giving me the thanks which are my due, but rather use it in new assaults upon me. However, they are perfectly welcome, and it is well pleasing to me that I have taught even ungrateful pupils." "I seek not fame. My conscience bears me witness that I have consecrated all my powers faithfully to the work, and no sinister motives have influenced me; for I have not received the smallest recompense, neither sought it nor yet

my own glory. God is my witness, that I have done all from love to God and to the brethren."

Though we speak of this version as Luther's, it must not be supposed that the other reformers had no share in the work. Days and months were devoted to it by others as well as by himself. For many weeks together, a large party might have been noticed in Luther's rooms, of the most eminent scholars of Europe. Luther presided, having before him the Latin, Hebrew, and new German Bible ; Melancthon, an insignificant, spare man, opened his *Greek* books, the Seventy, or the New Testament ; Creuziger had in his hand the Hebrew and Chaldee Scriptures ; Dr. Bugenhagen, or Pomeranus, the Vulgate ; Dr. Bugenhagen and Justus Jonas, the rabbinical paraphrases. Each gave his views on the passage under consideration, and master George Borer marked them down. Days were thus devoted to a single verse. The edition of 1541 contains the results of all these labours ; and Luther's own copy—a copy constantly used by him, after having passed through several hands, including Bugenhagen's and Melancthon's, is now in the British Museum.

The version of Luther is the basis of several versions. On it is founded the Belgic version, of 1526 ; the Swedish version, of 1541 ; the Danish version, of 1550 ; the Icelandic or Norse, of 1584 ; the Finnish, of 1542 ; and an early Dutch version, of 1560. A German-Swiss translation was made by Leo Juda, 1525-9 ;

and in 1667, a revised version, in the same tongue, was published at Zurich. These languages (the Finnish excepted) all belong, with the German, Saxon, English, and Gothic, to the *Teutonic family* of tongues.

This history of the Bible, in connexion with the religious movement in Germany, has been given at this length, because it furnishes a fair type of the progress of the Reformation elsewhere. We must notice, however, the history of translation in Switzerland and France.

Towards the close of the fifteenth century, and some years before Luther's labours had begun, there was a professor of theology in Paris whose teaching had excited much interest. He came originally from Etaples, in Picardy. He had received a rude education, but "was a man," says Beza, "of true genius and piety." Though attached at that time to the Romish church, he resolutely opposed the barbarism which prevailed in most of the universities of Europe. He condemned the dry metaphysical methods of inquiry then common even in theology; revived a taste for the study of classical antiquity; and feeling that no human science could regenerate our race, he went direct to the Scriptures, and sought to win to the study of them the hearts of his pupils. Full of gravity and unction in the pulpit, his intercourse with all classes was distinguished by a kindly familiarity, and large numbers of students from various nations gathered around him.

Among his pupils was a young student from Dauphiné, a man of quick feeling and strong sense. A warm attachment sprang up between the two. The old doctor and the young disciple were soon known throughout Paris for their love to each other, and their zeal for the faith.

At that time the doctor was engaged in editing the legends of the saints, and arranging them as their names appear in the calendar. Two months of these biographies were already prepared, when the puerility of the whole was forced upon the mind of the writer. He began to regard them "as mere sulphur, fit only for lighting the fire of idolatry ;" turned from them with disgust to the Epistles of Paul, and became a changed man. With characteristic openness, he declared his sentiments ; and in the very heart of the Sorbonne, where he laboured, he proclaimed the great doctrines of the gospel with a zeal and fervour never surpassed. These events took place before the year 1512, and the doctor's name was Lefèvre.

His pupil, Farel, listened with avidity to his new instructions, studied the Bible, and soon embraced the new faith. "There is a righteousness," said the tutor, "of faith, and a righteousness of works ; the one is of man, and the other of God ; the one is earthly and fleeting, and the other is Divine and eternal." "I saw it," says Farel, "in a word ; and as soon as it was told me I believed." Thus was conducted to the truth, in the very year when Luther was receiving his doctorate, the man who won for

Christ part of France, Neuchâtel, Lausanne, and lastly, Geneva.*

In the same school, and, probably, under the same teacher, was young Robert Pierre Olivetan, a native of Noyon. To him we owe the first translation of the Scriptures into French Swiss. It was he also who first brought the gospel under the attention of his relative and fellow-townsman, John Calvin, one of the most illustrious labourers in the work of reform.

Of course, this state of things could not be suffered to continue. In Paris, the members of the Sorbonne cried out, "Heresy!" and appealed to the king. The disciples of Luther had, in the meantime, reached the university of that city, though not his writings. "Multitudes insolently assumed the liberty of interpreting the Bible for themselves," says the Jesuit Maimbourg, quoted by Merle D'Aubigné. To protect their pupils, the faculty compelled Lefèvre to quit Paris. On leaving it, he moved to Meaux, and there, about the year 1523, he published the New Testament, boldly proclaiming "the sufficiency of Scripture," and the great doctrine of "justification by faith." The preachers in the national church caught his spirit, and the very bishop warned the people, that, "though an angel from heaven were to announce to them another gospel, they were not to listen to him, even," added he, "though I, your bishop, should change my language and my doctrine; beware then of changing like me."

* Merle D'Aubigné, book xii. § 2.

While Luther was preparing his theses, and Lefèvre was teaching the gospel at Meaux, Basle in Switzerland was the scene of a remarkable gathering. There might be seen, in the year 1514, a man of about forty years of age, of a "small, slender frame, of delicate appearance, but of most winning and graceful manners." This was Erasmus, the friend of sir Thomas More, and the first scholar at that time in Europe. He had come to Basle to carry through the press the first edition of the New Testament in Greek, and had been received by all classes with great distinction. One of the ministers of the city was a young man of mild disposition, slow and circumspect in business, fond of study, and of a loving heart. John Hausschein (House-light) was his Swiss name ; now better known under its Greek form, *Æcolampadius*. Though still in communion with the church of Rome, he taught boldly and effectually, as Erasmus also held, "that in Scripture there was but one theme—that is, Jesus Christ." In the neighbourhood of Basle was also residing a man of a very different temperament, earnest even to a fault; a profound scholar, and, at the same time, a powerful preacher ; not indisposed, if the truth must be known, to wield either sword, the spiritual or the secular, for liberty and truth—the impetuous Zwingle. How strange the histories of these three men—the last two the leaders in the Swiss reformation, the first honoured by them both, but a halting, inconsistent Romanist to the close.

Of these men Zwingle was chief. After a history very like Luther's, he became a reformer. Like him he visited Italy, and rebuked the corruptions of the church. Like him, he had from the first a profound conviction of the doctrine of salvation by grace, and through Christ. Like him, he appealed constantly to the Scriptures, even while still a Romanist ; and, like him, he was the father, in one sense, of an extensive reform. He differed, however, from Luther in some qualities. Possessed of the same faith as Luther, it was better ordered. The German reformer was a man of heart, the Swiss of intellect. The first was more impassioned in his expositions of the faith, the second more philosophic. Their enemies called the one a mystic, and the other a rationalist ; names which, though used with a colour of reason, are really unjust. Both, however, held substantially the same views. "If Luther," says Zwingle, "preaches Christ, he does what I do. Those who have been led to Christ by him exceed in number those who have been led by me. It matters not. I will bear no other name than that of Christ, whose soldier I am, and who alone is my chief. Never has one tittle been written by Luther to me, nor by me to Luther : and why ?—In order to manifest to every one how consistent the Spirit of God is with itself, since without having ever consorted together, we teach the doctrine of Christ with such harmony."* Under this preaching thousands were

* Merle D'Aubigné, book viii. chap. 9.

converted. Churches were formed by him at Zurich, and by his disciples at Berne, Lausanne, and in other places. In a little time bitter persecution arose, but it ended in the establishment, in most of the cantons, of the reformed faith.

Ten years after the visit of Erasmus, and the meeting between him and Zwingle, Farel and other Frenchmen had quitted their country, and settled at Basle. *There* they found many of the same belief; and among them some of the descendants of the “poor men of Lyons,” who, like themselves, had been driven out of France. All began to look wistfully to the land of their fathers. She had expelled the gospel from her borders, but they were unwilling that she should be left to perish. Wanderers on a foreign soil themselves, they ceased not to “make mention of her in prayer every day (it is their own testimony,) in silence and seclusion.” They invoked God’s aid on their behalf, thus using the mightiest instrument ever employed in diffusing the gospel, the great means of conquest to the Reformation itself.*

Nor were they men of prayer only. They felt the importance of largely circulating the Scriptures. Bentin, one of their number, proposed establishing a printing-press at Basle; and another, Vaugris, was sent to Lyons, where many rich members of their fraternity resided, to ask their help. To this appeal there was a liberal response, and Farel printed a considerable number of tracts and books, and sent them

* Ranke, book xii. chap. 12.

into the different districts of France. Their plan was, to deliver the books to pious hawkers or pedlars, who went with their respective burdens from city to city, and from house to house. These hawkers were instructed to knock at every door, and to sell as many as they could ; and, "that they might have an appetite for selling them," the books were delivered to them at a low price. They were also to speak of the doctrines their books contained, and to commend them in every possible way to the hearts of the people. In the meantime, Lefèvre's Bible had been printed in France. A friend sent a copy of it to Basle, with the suggestion, "Have it printed with all speed ; for I have no doubt that a great number will go off." Thus, from the year 1524, there existed in Switzerland a French society for the publication of Bibles and religious books, and for their itinerant sale. Three hundred years before, Waldo had adopted the same agency, and with kindred success. Such efforts belong, in truth, not to our day exclusively, but to the Reformation, and even to the first ages of the church. To such efforts France owed the prevalence within her boundaries, in the sixteenth century, of the principles of the gospel.

What was still wanting to complete the work which Zwingle had begun, was a version of the Scriptures thoroughly adapted to the language of the people, and some master-mind to give consistency and system to the teaching and doctrines of the reformers and fellow-labourers

of Luther, in the one department, and of Melancthon in the other. The latter was supplied by Calvin, who had settled at Geneva ; and the former by Olivetan, the pupil of Lefèvre, and uncle of Calvin. Olivetan's version was completed in 1535, and printed at Neuchâtel. In 1540, it was printed again at Geneva, after being revised by Calvin. In 1588, the edition was published which is now generally known as the Geneva French Bible. It is substantially Olivetan's, corrected by the pastors and professors of the reformed church in that city, among whom may be mentioned Jacquemot, Bertram, and Beza. History reckons upwards of twenty other French versions, Protestant and Catholic. The chief are the version of De Sacy, the Port Royalist, and the versions of Martin, a native of Languedoc, and Ostervald, both founded on the Geneva Bible. Ostervald's is in use among the Protestants of Switzerland, while Martin's is preferred by those of Belgium, Holland, and southern France. De Sacy's has been largely circulated among Roman Catholics by the British and Foreign Bible Society.

The use of so many versions among French Protestants (there being no less than ten versions still in circulation) is an evil, and has done mischief to the Protestant cause. De Sacy's version, it may be added, we owe, as we owe Luther's, to imprisonment. The Jesuits threw him into the Bastile in 1666, and there he laboured for two years and a half at his version of the Scriptures. He finished it

on the evening previous to his liberation. The Jesuits condemned it as too favourable to Protestantism. In France it is regarded by very many "as the most perfect version in French, or in any other tongue."

The *extent* of these labours in France, and their *results*, are both remarkable. Le Long reckons, between the years 1550 and 1600, no fewer than one hundred and fifty-seven editions of the entire Bible or Testament printed in French. Of those, one hundred and four editions were printed at Geneva, and forty-three elsewhere.* The *results* we gather from Ranke. The doctrines of Calvin, he tells us, were early spread through France, and in defiance of persecution, the French churches modelled themselves on the type of that of Geneva. They held a numerous synod in 1559, and in the year 1561, the Venetian ambassador Micheli finds "not one province free from Protestantism, and three-fourths of the realm filled with it." "In many places," he says, "meetings and preachings are held, and rules of life laid down, exactly after the pattern of Geneva, without the least regard to the royal prohibitions." "Every one," he adds, "has adopted these opinions; even, what is most remarkable, the clergy; not only priests, monks, and nuns—there may be a few convents uninfected by them—but the very bishops, and many of the more eminent prelates, have." He finds it unavoidable that religious

* Townley's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 89.

freedom should be accorded to the French Protestants, "at least for an *interim*," as he expressed it, "if a deluge of blood was to be avoided." In fact, this report was followed by the edict of January, 1562, which granted a recognised existence to Protestantism in that country, and is the basis of the privileges it has since enjoyed there.*

The zeal of neighbouring countries was stimulated by this example, and Geneva especially aided them in their work. The spirit of inquiry in northern Italy, which had called for nine editions of the Scriptures by Malermi before the year 1500, called for as many as thirteen more within seventy years;† while an edition by Bruciolli had been reprinted eleven times before 1579. At Geneva, also, an Italian version was published for the use of Protestants in 1561; and early in the seventeenth century, Diodati, of a noble Italian family, and professor of Hebrew at Geneva, prepared and published, at his own expense, his Italian version, one of the most important translations of modern times. It is remarkably clear, and peculiarly suited for circulation among the poorer classes of his countrymen. In 1562, the New Testament was also translated into Romanese, the whole Bible being translated in 1679. This dialect is spoken in the Grisons by a population amounting to about ninety thousand. The printed versions in other dialects of that district, the Piedmontese, the Catalan, and

* Ranke, book v.

† Le Long.

the Vaudois, belong to the nineteenth century, and are among the many trophies of the labours of the British and Foreign Bible Society. In the Daco-Romano, or Wallachian language, (a mixture of the classic and Sclavonic,) the New Testament was published at Belgrade as early as 1648, and the Old Testament was published at Bucharest, the capital, in 1668. The people are members of the Greek church, and amount to about three millions.

At Geneva, moreover, was printed the first edition of the Scriptures in modern Greek. The version was made by Callipoli, 1638, and is remarkable for its close adherence to the Greek text. In one of the prefaces to it, written by Cyril Lucar, the patriarch of Constantinople, who had studied at Geneva, he strongly insists upon the "necessity of presenting the Scriptures in a language intelligible to the people:" therein speaking the sentiments of the whole Greek church. This edition has been frequently reprinted. The *Old Testament* was not prepared till the year 1819, when Hilarion, the archbishop of Tronovo, completed a version for the British and Foreign Bible Society. This, however, is now superseded by a revised version, printed by that Society at Athens, in 1848. It is curious and interesting to trace, from Paris and the teaching of Lefèvre, the progress of the Bible, till we find it, as we thus do, in the midst of the Mohammedan power in the east.

These last facts we have grouped together, partly because they are connected with Geneva,

and partly because the languages to which they refer constitute, with the Spanish and Portuguese, the principal members of the *Græco-Latin* family of tongues.

The Reformation having established the principle that the Bible is the final appeal on every question of religious faith, the work of translation extended on all hands. We have already marked its progress in Germany, in France, and Switzerland, among the Teutonic and Græco-Latin families of speech. One family more in Europe of the INDO-EUROPEAN class still remains to be noticed—the Sclavonic.

The Sclavonic nations and their descendants now number upwards of sixty millions of people, and they occupy a *third* of Europe. We find them from Petersburgh to the borders of Greece, from Trieste to Adrianople, from Prague to the banks of the Volga. One chief language of these people was in ancient times the Sclavonic, but that is now used exclusively for ecclesiastical purposes. Its various dialects, or, more properly, cognate dialects, (all formed from a yet older tongue,) are the Bohemian, the Russian, the Polish, the Bulgarian, the Carniolan, and the Wendish. All the nations using those tongues needed and must have the Bible.

The history of the old Sclavonic version we have traced. Portions of it were printed, as we have seen, at Cracow, and at Montenegro, before the close of the fifteenth century; various editions of the Gospels were also printed between 1512 and 1562. In 1553, the czar Ivan caused

a revision of the rest of the New Testament to be prepared. After ten years of labour and delay, the whole was printed at Moscow by John Bogbinder, a native of Denmark. This edition is the first-fruits of the typographical art in Russia. The poor printer, though favoured by the czar, was accused of heresy and magic, and compelled to flee the country. In 1581, the whole Bible appeared at Ostrog ; a second edition being printed in 1633. Between those two dates, seven editions of the New Testament were published. Copies of these editions are now exceedingly rare. In 1712, Peter the Great ordered the Bible to be revised, and in twelve years the work was completed. His death, however, and the opposition of the ecclesiastical authorities, occasioned still further delay ; nor was it till the year 1751 that this revision was published. Twenty-one editions appeared up to 1816, when the first stereotyped edition of the Russian Bible Society came from the press. Two hundred and five thousand copies of this version were printed by that Society during the ten years of its existence, and then all further Biblical labour in this form was prohibited by imperial edict.

The history of the Bible in Poland illustrates the force of female piety. The first Christian duke of Poland (Miceslaus) was induced to abandon paganism (965) through the influence of his wife. The first Polish Bible was made prior to 1390, by order of queen Hedwige, wife

of Jagellon. Another version, or possibly a copy of this previous version, was made by the order of queen Sophia, wife of a subsequent king of the same name (1455.) Only a few fragments of these versions remain.

Since the middle of the sixteenth century, six different versions have been published. The *authorized* Bible, printed at Cracow in 1599, was designed for Roman Catholics, and was sanctioned by Clement VIII. ; it is accounted one of the best translations of the Vulgate, but in two hundred years only three editions had been printed, and those did not comprise three thousand copies. Two Protestant versions have been published, one at the expense of prince Radzivil, in 1563, and the other by the reformed church at Dantzic, in 1632. Thousands of those editions have been bought up and burned by the Jesuits. Both the Roman Catholic edition and the Dantzic edition have been largely published by the Bible Society, and about eighty thousand copies of the Bible and Testament have been issued among *ten millions* of people.

The *Carniolan* tongue is a dialect of Sclavonic, spoken in Carinthia and Styria by about three millions of people. The version now in use was made by Truber, a native who was driven from the country for his religious views, and took refuge at Würtemberg. The New Testament was printed at Tubingen in 1557 ; the Old appeared in 1584, and was executed by Dalmatin, aided by Melancthon. Nearly all

the copies of these versions have been destroyed by the Jesuits. *Wendish* is spoken in Lusatia by a people now under the dominion of Saxony and Prussia ; portions of Scripture were printed as early as 1574, but it was not till 1706 that the New Testament was published. This edition was prepared at the cost of the lady Gersdorf, the grandmother of count Zinzendorf, for gratuitous circulation. Several editions of a version of the entire Bible, prepared by some Lutheran pastors, have also left the press ; the whole of those issues are *Protestant*. A translation was prepared long ago for the use of the Roman Catholic population, but was never printed. It was found, in fact, more effective to destroy existing copies than to circulate an adverse version. Translations were made into *Wendish* and *Lithuanian* by disciples of Luther during the course of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Bohemian we have already noticed. The Bulgarian version belongs to the nineteenth century.

It is a fact familiar to scholars, that many of the languages of Europe are closely allied to the Sanscrit. They agree in many of their words and inflections—that is, in matter and in form. From London to Calcutta, the Indo-European class of languages, including nearly all we have mentioned in this chapter, prevail. A class equally wide is the TARTARIAN. It includes the Basque of western France and Spain, the Magyar of Hungary, the Lappone of Lap-

land; and nearly all the languages spoken between Finland and China. The poor Finlander speaks a tongue akin to that spoken by the Mantchou conquerors of the celestial empire. It was part of the business of the reformers to give to the people speaking some of these tongues also a portion at least of the Bible.

In 1571, the entire New Testament, in *Basque*, was printed at Rochelle. It was translated by a minister of the reformed church, and was dedicated to Jeanne d'Albret, queen of Navarre, and brought out at her expense. For more than two centuries no other edition in this tongue was published, and it was long thought that the whole had perished. Happily, however, a single copy had been deposited in the library of the university of Oxford. From this copy two editions have been printed in our own day. The first was bought up by the Roman Catholic bishop of that part of France, who destroyed upwards of eight hundred copies. The effect, however, has been to facilitate the reproduction of the second edition, and to call attention to the importance of truth. Into the *Finnish* tongue the New Testament was translated by a disciple of Luther, M. Agricola, whom the reformer recommended to Gustavus I. When the *Lappone* version was made is not known, but the first printed edition was published in 1755, various tracts and portions of Scripture having been issued in 1648. A translation in *Esthonian* was made

by John Fischer, a German divine, in 1686, the Old Testament being published three years afterwards. The most important, however, of these Tartarian versions is the *Magyar*. The Magyars, originally from Scythia, are the most influential race in Hungary, and give their name to the Hungarian tongue. They are said to be, in physical and intellectual qualities, among the foremost nations of Europe. They number nearly five millions, of whom half are Protestants. The earliest Magyar version of part of the Scriptures was made in the year 1541, by John Sylvester, a native of Hungary; and Le Long speaks of three editions of the New Testament as published by the year 1574. The whole Bible appeared in 1589. It was translated by Caspard Carolé, the pastor of the church at Gonz. He had imbibed the principles of the Reformation at Wittemberg, and was prompted to undertake this work by a desire to give the gospel to his country. The seventh edition was printed at Capel, in 1704. Two Romanist versions, in the Magyar language, have also been executed, but only one published. Of that version but few copies have been put into circulation.

Such are the versions of the *Tartarian* class of languages which we owe to the Reformation.

It may give some idea of the extent to which the Scriptures have been printed during the two hundred and fifty years subsequent to the appearance of Luther's Bible, to examine the following table. It is taken from the catalogue

of the library of the king of Würtemberg, as published by Adler. That library was formed by him with much care, and contained upwards of nine thousand different editions of the Scriptures. The date of the publication of this list is 1787. There were then in his library,—

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY.

	Editions.	Editions.	Editions.
Græco-Latin Branch	Latin 790	Spanish 15	French 290
	Portuguese 18	Italian 43	Grison 1
Teutonic Branch	Old German 23	Luther's 781	Other ver. 43
	Cath. Vers. 46	Heterodox 55	Orthodox 95
Sclavonic Branch	Saxon 115	Danish 116	Dutch 274
	Icelandic 14	Swedish 45	
TARTARIAN FAMILY.	Sclavonic 11	Livonian 7	Wendish 10
	Polish 20	Bohemian 21	Lithuanian 6
	Basque 1	Estonian 4	Finnish 6
	Lapponese 3	Hungarian 7	

This enumeration, which is confessedly imperfect, comprises near three thousand different editions of Scripture in languages spoken on the continent;* and though by no means giving a complete view of all that was done, it may be regarded as accurately representing the comparative prevalence of copies of Scripture

* See Townley's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 280.

in the various languages which it includes. Had the Reformation done no more for the progress of religion and learning than put into these various tongues the great truths and lessons of the Bible, it would have deserved the everlasting gratitude of our race.

While these efforts were made for the translation of Scripture into the *vernacular* languages of Europe, the learned were busy revising the sacred text, printing versions in ancient tongues, and in writing commentaries on the meaning of the inspired volume. A threefold work had in truth to be done. It was necessary first of all to settle the text both of the Old and of the New Testament; then to ascertain the meaning of words; and lastly, to give the general sense. *Criticism* is the first process, *exegesis* the second, and *exposition* the third.

At first all parties engaged in every department of this work with equal zeal. The first editions of the Greek Testament were published by Roman Catholics, and of the Hebrew Bible by Jews; though, in both cases, after a very imperfect examination of authorities. The text of the "Compluterian Polyglot" (printed at Alcalá—anciently *Complutum*—in Spain,) was founded on a partial examination of four manuscripts *only*; while the text of Erasmus (1516) was based on a similar examination of sixteen. The "London Polyglot" greatly extended these examinations; and through the successive

labours of Fell, Mill, Bengel, Wetstein, Griesbach, Matthæi, Scholz, Hahn, Lachmann, and Tischendorf, the Greek text has been brought to its present state. A similar work was carried on for the Hebrew text by the "London Polyglot," Athias, a Jewish rabbi and printer, Van der Hooght, Michaelis, Houbigant, Kennicott, De Rossi, Jahn, and Boothroyd. The majority of those critical editors were Protestants; but, in fact, Protestants agree with Roman Catholics in the text of the New Testament, and Christians with Jews in the text of the Old. No statement can better illustrate the satisfactoriness of the results of these protracted inquiries.

One most important means of fixing the text of the sacred volume, and of ascertaining its meaning, has been the publication of ancient versions. Dr. Adam Clarke, indeed, ascribes to the publication of these versions much of the taste for sacred literature and for general knowledge which has been diffused through Europe during the seventeenth century; and it is certain that Polyglot Bibles—that is, Bibles in many tongues—have excited great interest among all classes of literary men. The earliest of these noble works was the Polyglot printed at Alcalá, or *Complutum*, by cardinal Ximenes, of Toledo. "Dreading the spread of false doctrines, with captious interpretations of the Scripture, which, whilst they deluded the simple, might appear unanswerable to the learned," he devoted much time and large sums to this

work. It contained the Hebrew, Greek, and Chaldee of the Old Testament, with a Latin version of each ; and the Greek and Latin Vulgate of the New. The whole was printed in 1517 ; but the cardinal dying soon after, it was doubted whether it ought to be circulated ; nor was it till the year 1522 that copies were distributed to the world at large. It is a curious instance of human weakness, that on the conversion of the Moors of Spain, Ximenes strenuously and successfully opposed the translation of the Bible in Arabic. It was best, he said, that the Scripture should be kept in the three languages consecrated by the inscription over the head of the dying Saviour—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin !

The next polyglot was published at *Antwerp*, under the patronage of the king of Spain. It was executed between the years 1568 and 1573. In addition to the versions given in the Complutensian Polyglot, it contains the Syriac version of the New Testament, and a version into Latin by Pagninus, with a large apparatus of grammars and lexicons at the close. The *London Polyglot* (1654-7) was prepared and printed by Brian Walton, afterwards bishop of Chester. It added to the versions given by Ximenes, the Samaritan, the Syriac, the Arabic, the Ethiopic, and the Persic, with a Latin version of each, and various Targums. Lexicons were added by Dr. Castell. In 1628-45, the *French Polyglot* appeared under the editorship of Le Jay. It contained all that had been

printed in the Complutensian edition, and, for the first time, the Samaritan Pentateuch, besides Syriac and Arabic ; but without the grammars and lexicons which gave so much value to the editions of Antwerp and London. Ximenes, Castell, and Le Jay, all spent in these works sums which were never repaid them. Le Jay's edition cost him a hundred thousand crowns ; Castell spent all his fortune of twelve thousand pounds upon his two volumes ; and through the incessant labour required in the preparation of them, he became nearly blind. Various similar works were published during the centuries just named. *Hutter* printed the New Testament in 1599, in twelve languages ; *Wolder*, of Hamburg, the whole Bible in four ; *Schindler*, extracts from Scripture in six. At Wittemberg, in 1578, five different *German* versions appeared in a *Pentaglot Bible*, published in 1710, at Wansbeck ; and the *Leipsic Polyglot*, in four languages, appeared in 1713. Early in the present century, Dr. A. Clarke and the rev. J. Pratt proposed to reprint Walton's Polyglot, but they did not meet with sufficient encouragement. The modern Polyglot Bibles of Bagster, and of Tauchnitz of Leipsic, are well known, and universally admired.

The number of editions of single versions of Scripture in ancient languages published during this period, shows what attention Scripture was receiving among all classes. Between 1500 and 1536, Panzer enumerates as printed, eleven

Hebrew Bibles, besides seventy editions of separate books. In *Greek*, there were printed twelve editions of the New Testament and three of the Old, and seven of separate books; in *Latin*, 107 editions of the whole Bible, 62 of the New Testament, besides 108 separate books. In the seventeenth century, the number of editions in various oriental and ancient languages amounted to upwards of two thousand.

The results of these inquiries and studies were given from time to time in improved Latin versions. Those of the *Romanists* are generally extremely literal, and often very obscure: the versions of Pagninus (1528,) Montanus (1584,) Cajetan (1639,) and Malvenda (1650,) are little else than verbal translations. A version, by Houbigant, of his amended Hebrew text, is elegant and accurate. The New Testament has also been translated by Erasmus and Sebastiani. Among *Protestants*, the version of Munster (1543) is extremely literal, though accurate. Leo Juda (1543) began another version, which was completed by Bibliander and others, and is highly esteemed. Castalio (1573) gives a version of elegant *classical Latin*. Beza's version is well known. The version of Junius and Tremellius is deemed by Poole to be one of the best. The version of the Osianders simply corrects the Vulgate. Schmidt's (1696) is literal, and Dathe's (1773) both faithful and elegant. These versions, and others in the vernacular languages,

are all important auxiliaries to the great work on which the church has now entered of giving the Bible to the world.

During the same period, commentaries of Scriptures were written much more extensively than had been usual since the days of the fathers. The Reformation itself began with the expositions published by Luther and Melancthon, and even in the Romish church there were many who admired these portions of their writings, but hesitated to adopt their system. Zwingle and Calvin both engaged in the same work. Beza's notes, and Diodati's, are well known to have exercised great influence, not only in France and Italy, but throughout the continent and in our own country; many of them being incorporated in the Geneva, or other versions of the English Scriptures. Nor must we leave out of view the labours of the men to whom we owe the marginal references of our Bibles, a kind of comment at once most scriptural and suggestive. To the same class belong the collection of critical commentaries which appeared soon after the publication of these polyglot versions, and were no doubt suggested by them. Various "*Catene patrum*" —Comments of the Fathers—had been collected much earlier, by Strabo (846,) and by the venerable Bede (780;) but collections of more modern commentators belong to the seventeenth century. The first was published by father De la Haye, in 1642; it appeared under the title of "*Biblia Magna*," in five vols. folio;

and then as "Biblia Maxima," in nineteen. A much more valuable collection was published by bishop Pearson and others, in 1660, as a companion to "Walton's Polyglot." It was called "Critici Sacri," and appeared in nine vols. folio. A brief collection of a very useful kind was published fourteen years later, under the title of "Synopsis Criticorum," the editor being Matthew Poole. These works, with the six volumes of "Walton's Polyglot," and the two folio volumes of "Castell's Lexicon," twenty-two volumes in all, were begun and finished in the city of London, in the comparatively short space of twenty years, at the expense of a few noblemen and divines. No insignificant contribution to Biblical science!

At first, Rome took her share in all these efforts, but the meaning of Scripture was to her a concern of small moment; she had co-ordinate authority. She soon found, moreover, that the study of the original by the learned was as mischievous as the study of the vernacular Scriptures by the common people, and she gradually withdrew from the field. In the seventeenth century, for example, 940 editions of the Scriptures in the languages of modern Europe are enumerated: but not one was printed at Rome, or in the temporal dominions of the pope; whilst, during the same period, not fewer than fourteen editions of prohibitory indexes were issued from the Roman press. This fact indicates decided hostility to vernacular translations. Again, of 2,050 editions of

the Bible, or of parts of the Bible, printed during this same century in the oriental and Latin tongues, only twenty-three were published at Rome, and one at Naples; all therest belonging to districts beyond her secular authority, and most of them to Protestant printers and countries.

Many noble instances of self-sacrifice are to be found in the history of these publications, not only among authors, but among printers. In those days printing was a dangerous trade; and the printer had often to bear the censure which it was impossible to inflict upon the author. One of the most illustrious of this band was Daniel Bomberg, a native of Antwerp, who settled at Venice. His Hebrew Bibles gained him great celebrity, and he is said to have retained in his employment about one hundred Jews as correctors of the press, the most learned he could find. In printing he is thought to have expended in the course of his life four millions of gold crowns, and Vossius records the fact, that he lessened his fortune by his liberality.* To Robert Stephens, the great French printer, De Thou, the historian, says, that not only France, but the whole Christian world, owes more than to the greatest warrior that ever extended the possessions of his country. Greater glory has redounded to Francis I., he adds, by the industry of this man alone, than from all the illustrious warlike and pacific undertakings in which he was engaged. In ten years (between

* Townley's Illustrations, vol. ii. p. 467.

1544 and 1554) there issued from his press at Paris, two editions of the *Hebrew* Bible, three of the *Greek* Testament, seventeen of *Latin* versions of Scripture, three *concordances*, and twenty-seven *commentaries* on the Bible, Jewish and Christian. For printing these books he was repeatedly censured by both kings and popes; but he went on with his work at risks not inferior to those incurred by the foremost reformers, and is certainly not less entitled to our admiration and praise.

We have spoken of the progress of the Reformation. In fifty years after the separation of Luther from the church of Rome, Protestantism was the religion of the whole of the north of Europe, and in all countries north of the Pyrenees and the Alps, Protestants formed an important party. In *France*, they constituted a commonwealth within the realm, and treated with their sovereigns on terms of equality. In *Poland*, the king was Roman Catholic, but Protestants filled the chief offices in the state, and in the towns they held the parish churches. In *Austria Proper* not a thirtieth of the population, it was said, could be counted upon as trustworthy adherents of the church of Rome. Fifty years later still, and the aspect of Europe in this respect is changed. Roman Catholicism had not only ceased to lose—she had regained much of what she had lost. In France, Belgium, Austria, Hungary, and Poland, she is again victorious. In 1570, Roman Catholicism

could hardly maintain footing on the shores even of the Mediterranean ; in 1640, Protestantism was all but driven beyond the Baltic. The fatherland of Luther was still safe, but nearly every other part of the continent had yielded to the conqueror.

This revival of error and defeat of truth is one of the mysteries of Providence ; nor can we attempt to solve it. The moral causes of it, however, are easily found, and the lesson they contain is highly instructive. *First* of all—since the days of Luther, the papacy had been earnest, energetic, and consistent. The atheists and debauchees who had occupied the papal chair before the Reformation, were succeeded by men eminent for fervour and outward sanctity. The order of the Jesuits had filled Europe with apostles, of courage and self-denial not inferior to the founders of the Reformation ; while the old supporters of Protestantism had been carried to their graves, and had left no worthy successors. Faith among the men who occupied their place was an outward profession rather than a deep conviction of truth. The Protestant princes of Europe, the elector of Saxony, Henry iv. of France, our own Elizabeth and James, had no hearty Protestant feeling ; and, in a word, energetic error proved mightier than dead truth.

The *whole* of Roman Catholic zeal, moreover, was directed against Protestantism. Protestant zeal, on the contrary, was divided ; part spent against the common foe, but part in civil con-

flict. In the Palatinate, Calvinists persecuted Lutherans; in Saxony, Lutherans persecuted Calvinists; everywhere, Protestant doctors confuted, and Protestant princes punished sectaries, who were at least as good Protestants as themselves. If the religion of Jesus Christ depends for its triumphs on the union of its disciples, it was impossible that under such circumstances Protestantism could succeed.

It must be *added*, that within a hundred years of Luther's death, the aggressive character of the Reformation was gone. The reformed churches of the continent existed only for the countries to which they belonged, and organizations for the conversion of Europe to the Protestant faith would have been regarded with ridicule or with disapprobation by the very leaders of the Protestant cause. Rome, on the other hand, filled Protestant districts with her priests. Spanish and Italian emissaries were found in every country of Europe, and at Rome a college was founded for the instruction of northern youth. The church, which regards the world as given to her, and deems nothing done till all is conquered, has fearful odds against churches which regard themselves as set only for the defence of the particular districts in which they are found. A church, *not missionary*, must either repent or die; and the latter alternative seemed to have been reserved, in the seventeenth century, for the Protestantism of the continent.

And, *lastly*, it must be confessed that the

great principle of Protestantism, which freed men from the authority of human teaching, and sent them to the Bible, was but imperfectly applied by the successors of the reformers. Translations were made, as we have seen, into most of the countries of Europe; but either the people could not read, or copies of the Scriptures were not to be obtained in numbers at all equal to their wants. In many cases, the printing of the Scriptures ceased. In Italy, for example, where we find as many as thirty-three editions of the Scriptures before 1579, we have not a single edition published during the whole of the seventeenth century; nor was anything done to give Italy the Bible, (excepting by Diodati and other Protestants,) till the latter part of the eighteenth century, when it was thought that the printing of the Roman Catholic version might be resumed without risk. In *Spain*, again, the publication of the Scriptures was practically prohibited during the whole of this period. Before the days of Luther, some encouragement had been given to the work of translation; but when the effects of the study of the Bible were seen, all encouragement was withheld. Some editions of the New Testament in Spanish were printed abroad, at Veniee and Amsterdam; but it was found impossible to circulate them in that country. As late, indeed, as 1786, Dr. Geddes, himself a Roman Catholic and a competent witness, observes that there was not even then a single edited version of the *whole*

Bible in Spanish. *Portugal* was equally destitute of the Scriptures. Editions had been printed at Amsterdam, Batavia, and Tranquebar; but those were all intended for foreign settlements, and found no entrance into Portugal. During the whole of the eighteenth century, a single edition was published at Lisbon in twenty-three volumes, and that was neither intended nor adapted for common use. Elsewhere, more active efforts were made to counteract the printing of the Scripture. Whole editions in Flemish, in Basque, in Hungarian, in Carniolan, were bought up, or forcibly seized by the Jesuits; and wherever those spiritual janissaries went, they regarded it as an important part of their office to destroy single copies. A burned Bible was to them a crushed foe. Even in districts accessible to Scripture, the work of printing had not kept pace with the work of translation. The reformers had made a noble beginning, but they handed down their labours to children not worthy of them. Protestant Europe was practically *without* the Bible. Counting the entire number of editions published on the continent during the two hundred years that followed the reformation of Luther at five thousand, (a large estimate,) and the number of each edition in the vernacular tongues at one thousand, (still a large estimate,) we have but five million copies of the word of God in languages spoken by one hundred millions of people—a third only of the copies printed in the last fifty years for

our own country. Protestantism without the Bible is a cold negation ; true, because the denial of error, but powerless ; and Protestants without Bibles are soldiers without weapons, ready neither for conquest nor for defence.

This view is not completed till we add the *inhuman persecutions* and cruelties with which the church of Rome assailed her opponents, and which had the effect of destroying the most conscientious and devoted of their number. The massacres of France cut off one hundred thousand persons in three months. Pope Julius the seventh was the occasion of the slaughter of two hundred thousand Christians in seven years. Forty years after the institution of the Jesuits, nine hundred thousand had perished through their instrumentality. The duke of Alva put thirty thousand to death in the Netherlands, and the Inquisition destroyed, in thirty-six years, one hundred and fifty thousand more.* Those martyrs were “slain for the word of God, and for the testimony which they held.” If such a termination of their course be regarded as the triumph of Popery, it is in a higher sense a triumph of the principles which strengthened and sustained them.

The lessons are plain. If we desire the spread of the principles of the Reformation and the downfal of error, let us be holy and spiritual, united and aggressive ; above all, let us honour and circulate the Bible. The Pro-

* See Claude's Defence of the Reformation, Life, p. lxi.

testantism which possesses these qualities is sure to triumph: the Protestantism which is without them is little better than the system it seeks to supersede.

CHAPTER IV.

THE BIBLE AND CHRISTIAN MISSIONS.

NOTHING can be more unjust than to affirm, that the missionary spirit of the church of Christ is peculiar to our times. From the very first she has deemed herself charged to give the gospel to the world. The labours of the early Christians, and the versions of Scripture made by them into the various languages of the east, and of imperial Rome, attest the strength of this conviction in the very *first ages*. In the *sixteenth century*, moreover, she was always aggressive. Wycliffe, in England, Luther, in Germany, Farel, in France, Zwingle, in Switzerland, not only sought to reform abuses and to correct error—they sought the conversion of the careless and ungodly. The reformers were all missionaries, and the Reformation was essentially a *mission* for the “obedience of faith.”

Even in the restricted meaning of the term—a meaning that appropriates the name mission to efforts on behalf of the heathen—the spirit of missions was found among all sections of the reformed churches. As early as 1676, our

countryman Boyle urged the East India Company to promote Christianity in the east, and supported their application for a charter with that view. In 1701, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts was incorporated by William III. Three years later, a similar society was formed and incorporated in Scotland. About the middle of the eighteenth century, also, (1769,) Methodism—"Christianity in action"—had sent out labourers to America. Nor were Christians of other nations less active. The missionary church of the United Brethren, the descendants of those Bohemians whom the papacy had never ceased to persecute since the days of Huss, had commenced their work, and in the days of Charles II. had received aid from English Protestants, on the recommendation of archbishop Sancroft. The Danish mission on the Coromandel coast, and the Dutch mission in Ceylon, gained honours in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which their later history has hardly sustained; while elsewhere the labours of Elliot and Brainerd had done much to render missionary efforts fragrant even among the heathen.

In spite of these facts, however, we are justified in calling Christian missions the *characteristic* of our times. They are not *peculiar* to us; but they distinguish our age from the past. Previous efforts were partial, being either confined to our colonies, or maintained as incidental and exceptional labours by portions only of the religious communities with

which they were connected. "The church of Christ is bound to give the gospel to the world, and cannot rest contented till that is done," is a conviction that has grown gradually during the last sixty years, and belongs in its intensity and comprehensiveness to the present century.

This conviction seems to have originated, in modern times, with the revivals of America and Scotland. Tidings of the labours of Edwards and Whitfield in the former country, were read with much interest at Cambuslang, Kilsyth, and in the centre of England. Towards the middle of the eighteenth century, monthly meetings began to be held very generally in all these districts, to pray for the outpourings of the Spirit upon the church, and then upon the world ; first "upon him that was thirsty," and then "upon the dry ground." Prayer prompted the question, whether Christians were not bound to "*use means* for the conversion of the world." And at Kettering, in 1792, the first English Missionary Society was formed for the propagation of the gospel among the heathen. In rapid succession other Societies sprang up. In 1795, appeared the London Missionary Society, having on its direction members of several evangelical bodies ; the Church Missionary Society in 1800 ; and the Wesleyan Missionary Society in 1817. The progress of these various associations, and others of a kindred order, may be gathered from the fact, that now* upwards of thirty Societies are at

work in this country, seeking the evangelization of nations beyond the bounds of the British islands, and having an income devoted chiefly to this work of about half a million sterling.

Bible and Tract Societies were formed about the same time ; the Religious Tract Society in 1799, and the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1804. These have been followed by the formation of auxiliaries and kindred societies too numerous to name.

Confining ourselves to the object of this volume, the results of their continued efforts may be easily given. In the first ten centuries of the Christian era, the Scriptures were translated into as many different tongues ; Chaldee, Greek, Syriac, Latin, Egyptian, Ethiopic, Armenian, Gothic, Sclavonic, Arabic, and, perhaps, Anglo-Saxon ; and some thousands of copies probably were transcribed. In the two hundred and fifty years subsequent to the Reformation, the Scriptures were translated on the continent into twenty-two languages more (see page 127;) and at most five million copies were printed. In the last sixty years, the Bible, or some part of the Bible, has been published by various Bible Societies in about one hundred and sixty different languages or dialects ; and of those about one hundred and thirty were never printed before. Five million copies in two hundred and fifty years was a noble achievement. The Bible Society has printed for Europe alone 8,575,657 copies in different tongues, or including those issued by fifty-nine

continental societies, nearly sixteen million copies. For India there have been printed by all societies, 3,122,121 ; for all the world besides, 541,916 copies. Upwards of twenty millions of copies, therefore, have been printed in sixty years for different nations of the earth, not including those in our English tongue.

If these facts could be examined in detail, the results would be yet more impressive. *Finland*, for example, a country first led to profess the Christian faith by an Englishman, about the middle of the twelfth century, contained in 1841, one hundred and twenty thousand families without a copy of the Scriptures. A resolution was formed by the British and Foreign Bible Society to supply them all ; and the last edition of five-and-twenty thousand required for this purpose, is now in course of preparation. When distributed, every family in Finland will possess a copy of the word of God.* The Bible Society originated, in one sense, with *Wales* ; the destitution of that part of the country having suggested the idea of a society for providing Bibles for those destitute of them. In 1804, persons interested in religion were in the habit of travelling many miles to the nearest church or minister, in order to read for themselves the words of life. In forty-eight years upwards of seven hundred thousand copies had

* In 1806, not one in a thousand of the people of *Russia* could read, and it was generally known a hundred versts off (seventy miles) where the treasure of a Bible was to be found. In ten years the Russian Bible Society issued eight hundred and sixty-one thousand copies.—Dealtry's *Vindication*, p. 29.

been printed and circulated in the principality ; a number equal, it is reckoned, to the entire Welsh population. In the days of the "first consul," one of our countrymen visited Paris, and was anxious when there to obtain a French Bible. He applied to the various booksellers of Paris in vain ; a copy was not to be obtained. Last year the number of copies issued from the dépôt of the Bible Society in that city amounted to upwards of ninety thousand, and in the last nineteen years more than two millions of copies have been distributed.

An analogous fact may be added. The Religious Tract Society has printed within the same time five hundred million copies of more than five thousand different publications, in as many as one hundred and ten different tongues ; little books, with the very doctrines contained in those quarto tracts which first opened men's minds to the truths of the Reformation. As a specimen of these, Bunyan's "Pilgrim's Progress" has been published by that Society in twenty-eight languages, spoken by more than half the population of the globe. If the Reformation illustrates the grace of God, and excites our admiration, with what feelings must these facts be contemplated ? With humility, that we have ever faltered in our labours, and that those labours have been so unworthy ; but with devoutest thankfulness, that God has been pleased so signally to own and bless them.

The first place is due in this chapter to individual effort.

From very early times, attempts were made in Europe to direct the attention of the *Jews* to the claims of the Messiah ; and with that view various versions of portions of Scripture were made in the sixteenth century, chiefly by Jews who had been led to embrace the gospel. The first complete version of the New Testament in Hebrew was made by Elias Hutter, a Protestant, and professor of Hebrew at Leipsic. It appeared in his Polyglot Bible of 1599, and has been repeatedly printed. It is confessedly defective in grammatical accuracy and in purity of idiom, and several attempts have been made to obtain a better version. In 1815, Mr. Frey and other learned Hebraists executed a translation under the patronage of the *Jews' Society*, and many thousand copies were circulated. Anxious to obtain a yet better version, the Bible Society applied to Gesenius, who corrected part of Frey's version, but was not able to finish it. His corrections, with others by Dr. Neumann, were afterwards put into Mr. Greenfield's hands, and the results appear in Bagster's Hebrew Testament. In 1839, the Bible Society made another attempt, and issued a version made by Dr. M'Caul, the late bishop Alexander, and others. That version is the one now circulated by the Society.

A remarkable incident occurred, some years since, in relation to the Hebrew Testament. When in India, Dr. Buchanan gained possession of a translation, executed by a Jewish rabbi in Travancore ; the style he found to be elegant,

and the version generally faithful. It was undertaken by the translator, we are told, with the view of confuting Christianity. By the time, however, he had gone through the life of Christ, his confidence in Judaism was shaken, and in the end he seems to have become a martyr to the bigotry of his people. After embracing the faith, he sealed his testimony with his blood. The manuscript is now in the university library at Cambridge. Many Jews, it may be added, have ascribed their conversion to the study of the biography of our Lord.

One of the most eminent labourers on behalf of the Jews was Tremellius. He was himself the son of a Jew, and was converted to Christianity first as a Roman Catholic by Reginald Pole, and then to Protestantism by Peter Martyr. In the reign of Edward vi. he came to England, and taught Hebrew at Cambridge. On the death of Edward, he, with many others, left this country, and returned to Germany. He was successively professor of Hebrew at Heidelberg and Sedan. His Latin version of the Old Testament was long one of the most popular versions of the sixteenth century. He published also a Syrian New Testament in Hebrew character, and that ancient text had to the Jews charms which no modern version could possess. It is interesting to notice, that since the Reformation some of the ablest Biblical scholars have been Jews, who had become converts to the Christian faith.

Soon after the Reformation, the Old Testa-

ment was printed in the rabbinical Hebrew common in Spain, Italy, Poland, and Germany.

One of the noblest labourers in the department of Biblical translation was our countryman, the Hon. Robert Boyle ; and to him we owe editions of the Scriptures in Irish, in Turkish, in Malayan, and in American Indian.

The New Testament had been translated into the Irish language towards the close of the sixteenth century, and was printed, in 1602, at the expense of sir William Usher. Bishop Bedell, an Englishman, who, on his elevation to the see of Kilmore and Ardagh, mastered the Irish tongue, undertook a translation of the Old Testament, and completed it amongst many difficulties. The Irish rebellion, and then his own death in 1641, stayed the progress of the work, and it was not till 1681 that it was resumed. The Irish type which queen Elizabeth had given for the purpose of printing the New Testament had been carried off, in the meantime, by the Jesuits to Douay. The copies of the New Testament, printed by sir William Usher, had been all destroyed, or bought up. Mr. Boyle, therefore, had to begin the work afresh ; he cast the type, and successively printed the New Testament and the Old, in 1681-86. After binding them, he sent over many hundred copies, he tells us, to Ireland. Two thousand copies were also sent to Scotland, for the use of the Highlanders, who spoke a language closely akin to the Irish Gaelic.

About the same time, a version was printed

in Welsh ; Mr. Gouge, a man of noble benevolence, issuing an entire edition of eight thousand copies at his own charge. A hundred years later the Bible was printed in Manx. Dr. Moore, who largely engaged in the publication, " blessing God, at the close of his life, for all the comforts of his existence, and, above all, that he had a capital hand and concern in the Manx Scriptures."

Some years before, (1666,) William Seaman, a moderate Nonconformist, who had been chaplain at the Porte, translated the New Testament into Turkish, and was largely assisted in printing it by Mr. Boyle. Ten years later, that noble man printed, at his own expense chiefly, the Gospel and Acts in Malayan, as translated by Dr. Hyde ; and, still earlier, he contributed three hundred pounds towards the expense of printing the Bible in one of the languages of the American Indians. The translator was Eliot. Dr. Cotton Mather states, that this version was the *first* Bible printed in America, and that the whole of the translation was written with *one* pen. The language was a dialect of the Mohegan, and the version appeared in 1661. The name of Boyle, therefore, well deserves to be added to the list of efficient supporters of Biblical translation.

There are also other movements, partly individual, partly united, which deserve to be named. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, the king of Denmark, Frederick iv., resolved, against the opinion of many of his

counsellors, to establish missions at Tranquebar, in the East Indies, and elsewhere throughout the Danish colonies. This resolution was strongly commended by professor Francke, of Halle, the chief at that time of the Pietist, or evangelical party in Germany. Ziegenbalg and Plutscho were accordingly sent out to India. On their arrival, they at once proceeded with the work of translation. In 1711, the New Testament was completed in Tamul, and the Old Testament commenced ; when both those labourers were called to their reward. They were succeeded by Schultze and others, and in 1727 the Old Testament was published in the same tongue. The mission gradually extended, till it included Madras and Calcutta, and more labourers were sent to occupy the field. Among them was the indomitable Schwartz, who soon gained the confidence of all classes, and did signal service to the cause, both of humanity and of religion, during the terrible wars that distinguished the close of the eighteenth century. When Schwartz died, the New Testament had been translated into Telinga and Hindustani, though the latter only had been printed. An edition of the New Testament, in Tamul, was also printed in 1743, at Colombo, in *Ceylon*, by order of the Dutch governor. The Danish government, it may be added, gradually withdrew its support from the missionaries on this coast, and they became dependent on the English "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge."

With commendable zeal the Dutch settlers in Batavia, on the opposite side of the Indian Ocean, encouraged the translation of the Scriptures into the Malay, and an edition was printed in that tongue in 1759. In the *Dutch* colony of Ceylon, also, the Scriptures were translated into Cingalese, under the patronage of the governor, Van Imhoff, who had established a printing press at Colombo for this purpose. In Tranquebar, the *Portuguese* settlers printed a version of the Bible in Portuguese, giving to their countrymen abroad, and to all who could read the language, (at that time a numerous body) that inspired volume, which was all but denied to the inhabitants of the mother country.

During the same century, a small part of Scripture was translated into the languages of the Fanbee and Accra countries in *Africa*, by order of the king of Denmark; and an abridgment of the Bible was printed in the Susu dialect by the rev. H. Brunton, who had been sent out to that continent by the Scotch Missionary Society.

In *America*, the work which Eliot had begun under the encouragement of Boyle, was carried on with much zeal. Experience Mayhew translated part of Scripture into the Indian dialect of Massachusetts. Mr. Freeman, the Dutch minister at Shenectady, gave a part of the Bible to the Mohawks, as did the Moravians to the Delawares, the Esquimaux, and the Greenlanders. The history of the Greenland

version, prepared by the Moravian missionaries, Hans Egede and his son Paul, exhibits a noble example of self-devotedness; and their hope, though long deferred, as well as their faith and perseverance, received in the end a glorious reward. If any one wish for an instance of true Christian heroism, he may find it in the account of the labours of these men, given in Crantz's History of Greenland.

Nor ought we to omit all mention of an establishment at Halle, founded in 1712, by Charles Hildebrand, baron of Canstein, for the sole purpose of printing Bibles. This institution was carried on for many years with unwearying activity. In the printing-offices, frames of the Scriptures in German were kept constantly ready for printing the whole Bible of various sizes, from the folio to the duodecimo, and there had issued from it, by the end of the eighteenth century, as many as three million copies, chiefly in the above-named tongue. It was here, also, that the main impulse was given for some years to the Danish missions in the east. Here missionaries were trained. Hence they were sent forth; the prime movers being the Pietist leaders who resided in the town, and filled chairs in the university.

And now our principle of arrangement may be conveniently changed. Hitherto we have traced the progress of translation in chronological order, and when our field of inquiry was the whole preceding centuries, it was not diffi-

cult to keep the various topics we had to discuss sufficiently distinct ; but to continue that order when treating of a period of sixty years, would land us in interminable confusion. We should need to pass from Greenland to India, from Africa to the South Seas, till all remembrance of the progress of our work was lost in a mere list of dates and versions. We shall cease, therefore, to follow the order of time, and adopt the order of philology.

The number of languages spoken in the world is not certainly known. Estimates vary from one thousand to two thousand. In Africa alone upwards of two hundred languages and dialects are reckoned, and the Lord's Prayer has been printed by the press of the emperor of Austria in eight hundred and fourteen ; of which six hundred and eight are dialects, and two hundred and six distinct tongues. The history of Biblical translation, however, is concerned with about two hundred and fifty only ; several of which are mere dialects, and others claim no present notice, as, though versions have been attempted or commenced, no part of Scripture has been *printed* in them.

By careful inquiry and comparison, the whole of these languages have been classed under six or eight divisions, and it is highly probable that the progress of philology may still further reduce them. These divisions we take as they naturally present themselves in connexion with our present subject. 1. The Shemitic. 2. The Indo-European. 3. The Monosyllabic. 4. The

Ugro-Tartarian. 5. The Polynesian. 6. The African. 7. The American. In the following tables we give in the *first* column the name of the language, and its place under the particular division to which it belongs. In the *second* the date when the first edition was printed (or, in a few cases, when the translation was made.) In the *third*, the number of copies circulated by the various Societies formed in different parts of the world. In the case of most versions into languages spoken by the heathen or unenlightened nations, those numbers represent all that has been done in this department. In the case of the English, French, and other versions, it represents of course but part, as many thousand copies have been printed and circulated by other publishers. In the *fourth* will be found the names of the chief translators; and in the *fifth*, the names of the people for whom the versions are designed, together with their number. By examining the *second* column it will be at once seen to what period each version belongs; and by comparing the *third* and *fifth*, we may at once gather how little, or in some few cases how much, has been done to give the Bible to the world.

The languages of the first class, the Shemitic, it will be seen, extend from the Gold Coast to the Persian Gulf; from Zangebar to Aleppo. The Syriac and a dialect of the Ethiopic, (called the Tigré,) the Amharic, and the Arabic, are spoken tongues; the others being used chiefly for literary or ecclesiastical purposes.

I.—SHEMITIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES.

BRANCH. Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
HEBREW .	T. 1537.. 1816 .	12,800	Hutter, Frey, Greenfield,	Jews.
Hebrew .	O. T. 1488 . .	158,000	McCaul, Greenfield	.
Samaritan	Printed 1645 .		In Arabic, by Abu Said	Samaritans
SYRIAC .	Cent. I. 1555		. . . .
,, Philox	488.. 518	20,000	Under Philoxenus .	Syrian Christian in India, Syria, etc.
,, Modern	1815.. 29		Buchanan, Lee, Greenfield .	
Nestorian	1767.. 1829 Gosp.	2,000	Unknown. B. & F. Bible Society . .	Nestorians, 200,000.
ARABIC .	Cent. VII. xi. 1616	80,000	Various. Sabat, Fares, etc. .	Arabs.
Carshun .	1703.. 1828 . .	4,000	. . . .	Syrians, 1,000,000.
Ethiopic .	Cent. IV. 1548	4,120	Frumentius ?	Abyssinia.
Amharic .	1810.. 1824.. 1842	8,000	Pearce, Abu Kumi .	Abyssinia and Africa, 4,500,000.

And ten other dialects of this family.

Of all these versions, the *Arabic* is most important, and great pains have been taken to secure an accurate version. Several versions were printed during the sixteenth century, but none

were deemed satisfactory. In 1671, a version was printed at Rome under the auspices of Urban VIII. It was prepared at the request of several oriental churches, but was found to follow the Vulgate too implicitly, and was, moreover, written in inelegant Arabic. In 1816, a version, prepared by Sabat, whose history has excited so much attention, was printed at Calcutta, and was intended for the use of intelligent Mohammedans. Though it has been reprinted, it has never been very acceptable. The case seems to be, that any version in classical Arabic is rejected because thought impiously to copy the Koran, while versions made in vernacular Arabic are deemed vulgar. A new version is now in progress, under the care of Dr. Mill and Mr. Cureton.

The New Testament has also been twice printed in *Carshun*—that is, in Arabic with Syrian characters, chiefly for the use of the Syrian churches.

The history of the *Amharic* version illustrates the care of God over the interests of his church. The French consul of Cairo, in 1810, M. Asselin de Cherville, was anxious to provide a version of Scripture in the Amharic. After years of fruitless inquiry, he was directed to an old man, named Abu Rumi, whom he found to be a thorough scholar, having been the companion of Bruce, and the tutor of sir William Jones. For ten years this old man and the consul met twice a week, till the whole version was completed. The version thus prepared

was offered to the king of France, to the emperor of Russia, and to the pope, but none seemed disposed to buy it. At length the attention of the British and Foreign Bible Society was called to it. They effected the purchase, and have found the manuscript so satisfactory, that it has superseded earlier versions of parts of Scripture, and has been received with great thankfulness by the people. Two or three editions of it have been published.

II.—INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY.

MEDO-PERSIAN BRANCH: The following and three other dialects.

BRANCH. Languages.	When Printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Persian .	1546..1812 . .	110,000	R. Jacob, H. Martyn, Glen	Persia, 7,000,000.
Pushtoo or Affghan	1811..1819..1832	2,000	Leyden, Serampore Missnries.	Affghans, 5,000,000.
Belochi .	1811..1812 . .	not known	.. ..	Bel. 2,000,000.
Kurdish .	1827..1832. .	not printed	Bishop Shevris	Kurdistan, 800,000.
Ossilinian	1824? . . .	not printed	Talgusidse .	Caucasus, 35,000.
Armenian: Ancient	Cent. v. 1666	50,000	Miesrob, Isaac,	Armenia, 5,000,000.
Modern	1824..1847 .		Zohrab and Dittrich . .	Const. and Erzeroon.
Ararat	1829..1844 .			Ar. Arm.

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)TEUTONIC BRANCH :—The following and twelve other Dialects.
(GERMANIC.)

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Gothic .	Cent. ix... 1665	..	Ulpilas, Junius ed.	Ancient Germans.
Alemannic	870.. 1022 . .	..	Otfried, Nolkes.	„ „
German .	1458.. 1522 . .	5,500,000	Brunes, Luther, V. Ess.	Germany.
Saxon . .	Cent. ix. . .	..	..	Ancient Saxons.
Anglo- Saxon .	Cent. vii. . .	..	Cædmon, Alfred, etc..	An. Saxon, England.
English .	1380.. 1611 .	15,000,000	Wycliffe, Tyndale etc.	England, etc.
„	„	7,500,000	..	America,
Dutch .	Cent. xvi. 1628.. 1634 .	715,000	Various . .	Holland. 3,000,000.
Flemish .	1300.. 1472, 1475 . . .	75,350	..	Belgium, 2,000,000.

TEUTONIC BRANCH—(SCANDINAVIAN :) The following and
nine others.

Icelandic .	1539 . 1584 . 1644	15,500	Gotshalksen, etc. . . .	Iceland, 36,000.
Swedish .	1526 . 1541 . 1542	513,000	Andreas, Petri . .	Sweden, 3,100,000.
Danish .	1524.. 1550 .	117,000	Mikkelsen, Pedersen .	Denmark & Norway, 3,600,000.
Faroeese .	1817.. Acts, Luke . . .	1,500	Schræter, Lyngbye .	Feroe Isl. 7,000.

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)

SANSKRIT BRANCH :—The following and seventeen others.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Sanskrit .	1803..1850 . .	8,200	Carey, Yates, Wenger . .	Learned Class in India.
Pali . .	1813..1835 . .	2,000	Tolpey, Clough	Budhists in Ceylon, Burmah.
Hindustani	1739 . 1758 . 1824	113,000	Schultz, Martyn, Buyers, Baptist Missionary .	India, 100,000,000
Hindi . .	1811..1826 . .	..	Chamberlain, Carey, Bowley	Ind. Upper Province, 32,000,000.
Brui . .	1822..1832 . .	..	Chamberlain .	Agra.
Six other Hindi Dialects .	1815..1824 . .	..	Serampore Missionaries .	India.
Five Rajpootana Dialects .	1815..1824 . .	..	... ..	India.
Bengali .	1801 . 1809 . 1818	..	Carey, Yates, Hœberlin . .	Bengal, 30,000,000.
Assamese	1819 . 1832 . 1843	..	Serampore, N. Brown . .	Assam, 602,000.
Uriya . .	1811..1844 . .	..	Serampore, Sutton . .	Orissa, 3,500,000.
Cutchi .	1835	500	Gray	Cutch, 500,000.
Vindhi .	1825 . . . .	..	Serampore .	Scinde, 1,000,000.

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)
SANSKRIT BRANCH (*continued.*)

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Punjabi, and Six others.	1815..1832. . .	..	Serampore. . .	India, various, 10,000,000.
Gujerati .	1827..1850 . .	..	Serampore, Skinner, Clarkson . .	Gujerat, 5,000,000.
Mahratta	1811..1841 . .	..	Serampore, Ame. Miss., Dixon .	Mahratta, 3,500,000.
Kinakuru	1808..1819 . .	..	Serampore . .	Concan., 1,000,000.
Romaney or Gipsy	1835 . . . . .	..	Borrow . . .	Gipsies, 700,000.
Cingalese	1739..1833 . .	39,700	Tolpey, Chater, Clough, Lambrich . .	Ceylon, (part of.)
Maldivian	Int. . . . .	..	Dr. Leyden .	Maldiv Islands.

LANGUAGES OF THE DECCAN, probably not of Sanscrit origin:—
The following and nine others.

Tamul .	1714..1824 . .	105,000	Zeigaub, Schultz, Fabr.. Rhenius . .	Carnatic, Ceylon, 8,000,000.
Telinga .	1727..1819 . .	33,000	Schu., Seram- pore, Desgranges	Telinga, 10,000,000.
Carnatic	1800..1822 . .	..	Serampore Missionaries.	Carnatic, 7,000,000.
Tulu .	1844	400	Ammann, Greiner . .	Canara . 80,000.
Malayalim	1813, etc. . .	32,500	Spring, Bailey .	Malabar, etc., 2,100,000

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)
GRÆCO-LATIN BRANCH.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Albanian .	1825	2,000	Dr. Mexicos .	Albania, 1,200,000.
Greek . .				
Romaic, or Modern Greek .	1638.. 1827 .	250,000	Calipoli, Hilarion, Barnbas . .	Greece, etc. 1,200,000.
Latin . .	See Vulgate .			
Romance Languages, namely—				
Catalan .	1478.. 1832 .	9,030	Mr. Frat. . .	Catalonia, Spain, 1,000,000.
Toulouse Dialect .	1820.. Jus. .	..	..	Southern France.
Provencal	Cent. XI. . .	..	..	..
Vaudois .	1830	3,020	M. Berte. . .	Alps, 20,000.
Piedmont- tese .	1843	4,030	M. Berte and M. Geymet.	Piedmont, 2,650,000.
Grisons Romanese	1560 . 1719 . 1834	9,000	.. ..	The Grisons 88,000.
Italian .	1471.. 1641 . .	207,000	Malermi, Diodati, etc.	Italy, 22,400,000.
French .	1512.. 1530 . .	3,800,000	Lefevre, Dessaci, etc. . . .	France, etc. 34,000,000.
Spanish .	1543 . 1569 . 1709	280,000	Euzina, de Vacera, Scio .	Spanish, 12,000,000.
Judeo- Spanish .	Cent. XII. 1553.. 1829 .	3,000	Kimchi, Pinel, Leeves . .	Jews in Turkey, 800,000.

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)GRECO-LATIN BRANCH (*continued.*)

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Portuguese	1681 . 1719 . 1751	79,800	D'Almeida, Pe- reira	Portugal, 6,500,000.
Indo - Por- tuguese	1817..1833 .	13,000	Newstead . .	Fort. in Ceylon, 50,000.
Wallachian	1643 . 1688 . 1816 1838	10,000	Archp. Theodo- tius	Anc. Dacia, 3,000,000

And 15 others, mostly obsolete.

SCLAVONIC BRANCH.

Ancient Slavonic	Cent. ix. 1581.	71,670	Cyril, Methodius	The Slavi.
Russian .	1517 . 1519. 1813	1,400,000 in Rus- sian lan- guages	Under Russian Bible Society	Russia, 60,000,000.
Bosnian .	..	None .	..	Bosnia, 1,000,000.
Bulgarian	1827..1836. .	12,000	Saponnoff, Bar- ker	Anc. Mosca, 1,800,000.
Carniolan	1555..1584. .	None .	Truber, Dalma- tin	Styria, etc., 2,200,000.
Bohemian	1488. 1579. .	67,000	Moravians .	Bohemia, 3,000,000.
Polish .	1390 . 1551 . 1599 1808	106,180	Seklucyan, Wuyck	Poland etc., 10,000,000.
Judæo- Polish	1820 . . .	1,000	London Jews' Society	Jews in Po- land, etc., 1,100,000.

INDO-EUROPEAN FAMILY (*continued.*)SCLAVONIC BRANCH (*continued.*)

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Lithuanian	1590. 1735 .	11,000	Bretkins, Quandt	Lithuania, 2,300,000.
Samogitian	1814 . .	15,000	Prince Gedroitz	Lithuania, 112,000.
Lettish .	1685.. 1689 .	53,186	Glück, Fischer	Livonia, 740,000.
Wendish .	1574. 1728. 1813, etc.	13,000	Frenzeln, Fabri- cius	Lusatia, 150,000.
Hungarian Wendish	..		S. Kuznico .	Hungary, 15,000.

With 4 others.

CELTIC BRANCH.—600,000 speak Irish only.

Irish (Gaelic)	1602. 1640. .	117,500	Daniell, Bedell, King	Ireland, 3 or 4,000,000.
Scotch (Gaelic)	1686 . 1754 . 1783	50,000	Stuartson .	Scotland, 400,000.
Manks (Gaelic)	1767.. 1772 .	15,000	Dr. Walker, Dr. Hildesley	Isle of Man, 48,000.
Welsh (Cymri)	1567. 1588. .	800,000	Davis, Morgan, Parry	Wales, 700,000.
Breton (Cymri)	1827. 1847. .	4,070	Legonidec, Jen- kins	Brittany, 800,000.

And 3 others.

The first translation in this list, the *Persian*, brings to our memory some of the most touching incidents of modern missions. Christian churches

must have existed in Persia from very early times. Constantine wrote to Sapor, the king of that country, on behalf of the Christians in his dominions ; and the Elamites, who were present at Jerusalem at the time of the first Pentecost, after Christ had ascended, no doubt carried with them the glad tidings which they had just heard.* There is even reason for believing that there was in the first ages of the church a Persian version, though all trace of it is now lost. The earliest known version is one which is supposed to have been made by a Jew, in the eighth or ninth century. It was printed at Constantinople in 1545, and afterwards in the "London Polyglot." Some of the first modern versions we owe to the request of heathen kings. In 1582, Akbar, the emperor of the Moguls, applied to the king of Portugal for a copy of the Scriptures, and a learned man to explain the Christian religion. His letter was sent to Goa, but whether it was forwarded to Europe is doubtful. Jerome Xavier, however, a Jesuit, and relative of Francis Xavier, undertook to translate the books requested by the emperor. Instead of faithfully executing his work, he made a history of Christ, compiled in part from the Gospels, and in part from the old legends of the Romish church. When it was presented to the emperor, in 1602, he is said to have laughed at the fables it contained. Nadir Shah made a somewhat similar application, and, alas ! with a very similar result.

* See Bagster's Bible in every Land.

Henry Martyn, who saw the version given to him, states that it could be no matter of surprise that the king regarded such a history with contempt. The conduct of Xavier was the more reprehensible as he possessed at that time an ancient translation of the Gospel into Persian. The copy is now in the library of the Escurial in Spain, and is certified, in his own handwriting, to have been given to him in 1598 by an Armenian father from Jerusalem, and seems to have been written in the year 828. And yet this man spent forty years of his life in India, and endured toils and persecutions for the cause he had espoused that would have done no dishonour to a much purer faith.

Early in the present century, Henry Martyn had his attention called to the state of existing Persian versions, and undertook, with the help of Sabat, to produce an improved translation. His work he completed in 1808. It was found, however, to be so full of Arabic and foreign terms, that it was unintelligible to the common people. Henry Martyn, therefore, resolved to visit Persia himself, that he might obtain the means of correcting it. In 1811, he reached Shiraz, the seat of Persian literature, and there he remained nearly a year. As soon as his work was completed, the translator was compelled, by shattered health, to leave the country, on his way to England. He died the same year at Tocat, in Asiatic Turkey.

Some of the circumstances of his visit are narrated by a Mohammedan in touching terms.

“In the year 1223 of the Hegira,” says he, “there came to this city an Englishman, who taught the religion of Christ with a boldness hitherto unparalleled in Persia, in the midst of much scorn and ill-treatment from our mollahs, as well as the rabble. He was a beardless youth, and evidently enfeebled by disease. I was then a decided enemy to infidels, and visited the teacher of the despised sect with the declared object of treating him with scorn, and exposing his doctrines to contempt. These evil feelings gradually subsided beneath the influence of his gentleness, and just before he quitted Shiraz, I paid him a parting visit. Our conversation — the recollection of it will never fade from the tablets of my memory — sealed my conversion. He gave me a book ; it has been my constant companion ; the study of it has formed my most delightful occupation.” Upon this, the narrator of this incident brought out a copy of the New Testament in Persia ; on one of the blank leaves was written, “There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth—Henry Martyn.”*

Other versions, in the same family of languages, deserve special attention.

The work of translation in heathen countries may be said to have begun, in modern times, with the arrival of Dr. Carey, at Calcutta, in 1793. Continental Christians had then retired from the work ; but the churches of Britain

* Southgate’s Narrative of a Tour in Persia, quoted in Bagster.

and America had awoke to their duty, and were seeking to fulfil it. After seven years of intense labour, (for at that time the Bengali was without grammar or dictionaries,) the New Testament in Bengali was printed, and an edition of two thousand copies left the press; soon afterwards, Dr. Carey was appointed to the professorship of Bengali, Sanscrit, and Mahratta, in the new college at Fort William. This providential arrangement augmented his means of usefulness, partly by bringing within the circle in which he moved many of the learned natives of the country, and partly by supplying him with ample resources for his work. It may be added, that the whole of the proceeds of his professorship, after deducting a very scanty pittance for his own support, was devoted to Biblical translation, and that he contributed from these resources many thousand pounds to this object. Forty years after the issue of this first version, it was finally revised by the translator; having received still further revision, it is now one of the best translations in India. In 1844, an edition was printed with references and marginal readings; the first instance, probably, of the addition in an Indian language of those most useful helps to Scripture interpretation.

The parent of very many of the languages of India is the *Sanscrit*, one of the most complete and ancient of the languages of the world. Before Europe had emerged from barbarism, Sanscrit was a refined and polished speech.

For three thousand years the science and philosophy of the Hindoos, inscribed on the fragile leaves of the palm, have been concealed in this tongue from the inquiries of the west. From the days of sir William Jones, however, these treasures were examined, and the knowledge thus gained was at once applied to the translation of the Bible. Towards the close of the eighteenth century, Dr. Wilkins had cast a fount of Sanscrit type for literary purposes, but it was not turned to any immediate use. A native, who had been in his service, communicated the invention to Dr. Carey and his colleagues, and by his aid, types were cast for printing the Scriptures in twelve of the languages of the east ; of these, the Sanscrit was chief. In 1803, the translation of the New Testament was commenced ; in 1808 it was completed, and 600 copies were struck off. From that time every *other* year has witnessed a new version formed by missionaries in India, and every year many editions in different tongues.

This Sanscrit version is of great importance on many grounds. It is in the language of the Brahmins, the learned class of the country, who would certainly refuse to read any professedly sacred writings in another tongue. The language itself is closely akin to the Greek, and the version often answers word for word to the original. Moreover, nearly all the dialects of India are dependent upon it for their abstract and doctrinal terms, and hence it supplies translators with expressions which they require

in rendering into the vernacular tongues the truths of the Bible. The translation made by Dr. Carey has been repeatedly revised by Dr. Yates and Mr. Wenger, and many thousand copies have been put into circulation.

Perhaps we shall best understand what has been achieved in India, during the last fifty years, if we state the general results.

In 1793, two or three missionaries and a single missionary society were the representatives in British India of the Christian world. Forty years later, 1832, 147 missionaries, the representatives of ten societies, were labouring at 106 stations. Twenty years later still, 1852, there were the agents of 22 missionary societies in that country, employing 443 missionaries, of whom 48 were ordained natives. They were assisted by 698 native preachers and teachers, and proclaimed the word of God at 313 stations and in the districts around. They have founded 331 native churches, containing 18,410 communicants, whose members form the centre of a Christian community, comprising 112,191 individuals. The efforts of these missionaries in the cause of education, now sustain 2,015 schools, in which more than 100,000 children receive instruction. For our own countrymen, moreover, English services are maintained in 71 chapels.* In the last twenty years, therefore, the agency in India has trebled.

* From the "Calcutta Review," for October, 1851; corrected by the "Calcutta Christian Observer," for February, 1853.

In translation, the results are not less cheering. There are now versions of the whole Bible in *ten* Indian languages: the Hindustani (or Urdu), the Hindi, the Bengali, the Uriya, the Tamul, the Cinghalese, the Canerese, the Malayalim, the Mahratta, the Gujerati, and we may add the Sanscrit, now nearly complete. These are not first attempts by scholars residing at a distance. They are the work of ripe years, by missionaries who have lived in intercourse with the people for whom the versions are intended. The New Testament has been similarly revised and published in five other languages: the Assamese, the Telugu, the Tulu, and in the ancient languages of India, the Sanscrit and the Pali. Separate Gospels have been published in four others: so that the civilized Hindoos and Mussulmans of all India can now read the Scriptures in their own tongue. How many years of thoughtful labour are concentrated in this little library of Bibles! What an accumulation of influence for years and ages to come!

Besides publishing Bibles, thirty, and even seventy tracts have been prepared in these Indian tongues; and as many as five and twenty establishments are engaged in printing them. It is cheering to add, that of the total annual cost of this agency, one-sixth—or £33,500, is contributed by European Christians residing in India.

An examination of the tables will also show that the age which has been thus active in giving the heathen the Bible, has been no less active in giving it to the nations of Europe. Not

more than six or seven versions have been made for Europe in that time, Russian, Bulgarian, Samogitian, Breton, Cortalan, Vaudois, and Piedmontese; but many million copies have been printed and circulated, especially in German and French.

III.—MONOSYLLABIC FAMILY OF LANGUAGES:
Spoken in South-Eastern Asia, by nations of Mongolian type.

CHINESE BRANCH.

BRANCH Languages	Date.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Chinese— 8 dialects and 5 other di- visions	1809...1814. 1815...1821. 1811...1816. 1815...1820. 1840...1850.	Marshman, Mor- rison, Milne, Gutzlaff, and others, now in progress	China, 352,000,000.

INDO-CHINESE BRANCH.

Burmese . .	1817...1835.	B. Miss. and Judson	Burmah, 4,000,000.
Arakanese . .	1825...1850, p.	Am. B. Miss. .	Between Burmah and Chittagong
Siamese . .	1828...1846.	Judson, Gutz- laff, Jones, etc.	Siam, 3,000,000.
Peguan . .	Now in pro- gress .	Haswell . . .	Delta of Irawady, 48,000.
Karen . .	1842, part of	Wade & Mason	Karens, Burmah, 33,000.
Munipura . .	1814 . . .	Carey . . .	Munipur, North of Burmah, 70,000.
Khasi . .	1824 to 1845, part	Carey, Jones .	South of Assam.
Thibetan . .	Commenced 1816	... And 29 others.	Thibet.

THIBETAN BRANCH.

Lepcha . .	1848, p. .	Stark . . .	S. of Himalayas And 2 others.
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The history of the progress of the gospel has been from the first very chequered. In one region the word of the Lord grows and prevails; from another it is expelled. Here the Christians "have rest;" there they are scattered. Everywhere some believe and some believe not.

This general description of comparative failure and success applies equally to the progress of Biblical translation. Into China the Bible has barely yet gained access. In many parts of Polynesia it has done its work, and whole kingdoms have become obedient to the faith.

There is some evidence (though not very decisive) that a translation of the Scriptures into Chinese was executed as early as the seventh century. In 1625, an inscription is said to have been found in Shense, one of the Chinese provinces, to the effect that in the year 637, a Christian missionary arrived in China, and obtaining an interview with the emperor, was directed by him to translate the sacred books into the Chinese tongue, and that this was done. No trace, however, of any such version now exists. The earliest known attempt to give China the Bible was made by the rev. Dr. Brown, of Fort William College; and in 1807, the Gospel of Matthew was printed at Calcutta. In 1811, Chinese metal types were made for the first time at Serampore, and through the aid of the British and Foreign Bible Society, an edition of the Scriptures was completed and printed in 1822, by Dr. Marshman. The following year, Dr. Morrison

published a new version in China itself, and both versions have been circulated to some extent through parts of the celestial empire. Neither, however, is deemed quite satisfactory; though both, it is said, are much better than the generality of first translations. A third version of the New Testament, by Messrs. Medhurst, Gutzlaff, and others, was issued in 1836; but this version, though an improvement on its predecessors, is said to be too paraphrastic for the noble simplicity of the sacred volume. A revised version is now in progress, and as the Chinese are a reading people, it may be hoped that when the seed is sown over that vast kingdom, it may yield an early and abundant harvest. There are already traces of the very extensive diffusion of a knowledge of the gospel among the millions of that region.*

To this work of Biblical translation in China, the British and Foreign Bible Society have contributed from first to last upwards of £10,000. Having in recollection the noble examples of Zinzendorf and Boyle, is it too much to hope that some of our merchant princes may come forward and give to China, at their own charge, a complete Bible?

If, in China, hope is deferred, in the South Seas the circulation of the Bible has, in a great measure, done its work. Most of the islands are now nominally Christian. "In

* At the time that these pages are passing through the press, a curious proclamation has been issued by the leader of the rebellion in China, making reference to various portions of Scripture history.

1823," says Mr. Williams, speaking of Rarotonga, "I found the people all heathens ; in 1834, they were all professing Christians. At the former period, I found them with idols ; these, in 1834, were all destroyed. I found them without a written language, and left them reading in their own tongues the wonderful works of God." *

The labours, of which these few lines express the visible results, can never be fully known. The Rarotongan version received as many as five revisions ; but such results are an ample recompense for them all. It is significant that those islands where the gospel has most signally triumphed, have all received copies of the Scriptures to a much larger extent in proportion to their population than any other portion of the heathen world. If this multiplication of copies be the cause (instrumentally) of the change, the fact is highly *instructive*. If it be the result, it is highly *encouraging*. In truth it is both ; and the presence in those islands of the Sacred Scriptures teaches us how, by God's grace, we may succeed elsewhere, and gives us at the same time an assurance of the continuance among them of the Christian faith.

It is a fact, which may match the £10,000 spent, and as some may think, sunk in China, that many of the Polynesian islands have long since repaid to the treasury of the British and Foreign Bible Society, all that the Bibles sent to that part of the world ever cost. (See Table v.)

* *Bible in every Land*, p. 315.

IV.—UGRO TARTARIAN.
FINNISH FAMILY.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800, by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Finnish .	1548. 1644. 1685	215,000	Agricola, Var, Florin	Finland, 1,300,000
Karelian .	1820 . .	2,000	Russian B. Soc.	Karelia, 100,000
Esthonian .	1686. 1739.	30,000	Fischer, etc.	Esthonia and Livonia, 230,000.
Lapponeze .	1755. 1810.	5,000	Unknown.	Lapland, 10,000.
Norwegian ditto	1840 . .	2,000	Mr. Stock- fleth	Finmark, 6,000.
Tscheremis- sion	1819...1820.	5,000	Russ. B. Soc.	On the Wolga, 50,000.
Mordvinian .	1817 . .	3,000	Russ. B. Soc.	On the Wolga, etc.
Zirian . .	1823, pt. .	2,000	Scherzen, Russ. B. Soc.	Tobolsk, etc.
Wotagian .	1823 . .	N. finished	Russ. B. Soc.	Russia, 100,000
Magyar . .	1541. 1589.	82,000	Sylvester, Karoli	„ 5,000,000
Ostiaca And 3 others.	1820 . .	None .	Werguno, Russ. B. S.	Siberia.

EUSKARIAN FAMILY.

French Basque	1571 . .	4,000	Licarragne	S.W. France, 120,000.
Spanish Basque	1838...1848.	1,000	Oleiza, Bor- row	Biscay, etc., 316,000.

UGRO TARTARIAN (*continued.*)

TUNGUSIAN FAMILY.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800, by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Mantchou . .	1822. 1835.	1,550	Lipoffzoff, Borrow	China, 1,500,000.
Tungusian . .	1819 . .	1,550	Begun by R. B. S.	N. China, 52,000.

TURKISH FAMILY.

Turkish . .	1666. 1828.	39,000	Seaman, V. Diez, Ki- effer	Turkey, 12,000,000, especially 700,000.
Turkish Tartar	1666. 1807.		Seaman, Brunton	Borders of Caspian.
Crimean Tartar	1818 . .	7,000	Frazer, Sc. M. Soc.	S. Russia, 2,000,000.
Ischuwas- chian	1818 . .	5,000	Russ. B. Soc.	On the Wolga.

CAUCASIAN FAMILY.

Ancient Georgian	Cent. VIII. 1743	7,020		2,370,000.
And 13 others.				

HYPERBOREAN FAMILY.—The following and 20 others.

Khassona . .	1819, vers. began	None .	Russ. B. Soc.	N. Siberia.
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ASIATIC INSULAR LANGUAGES.

Japanese . .	1835, John	None .	Gutzlaff .	Japan, etc., 50,000,000.
Loochoian . .	1846, Luke, Acts	...	Dr. Bettel- hein	Loo Choo Isl.
Aleutian . .	1840, Mat.	...	J. Venmin- inoff	Aleutian Is.
Corean . .	1835 . .	None .	Bap. Miss., Dr. Schmidt	Corea, 2,000,000.

The Malayan or Polynesian tongues are peculiarly interesting. They are very extensively diffused. They abound with traces of foreign influence; the Malay containing many Arabic terms, and the Javanese many taken from Sanscrit. They are spoken by nations long degraded, some of whom are still sunk in the grossest superstition; while others have yielded, in a way no less remarkable, to the light of truth. How striking the contrast between the people of Madagascar, of Borneo, of Java, and the people of Tahiti and Rarotonga!

V.—POLYNESIAN OR MALAYAN.

INDO-MALAYAN FAMILY: the following and fifty-four others.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Malay . .	1629.. 1663.. 1677 1685.. 1814, etc.	46,000	Rugl, Leidekker, etc.	Malayan Archip.
Formosan	1661	None.	Gravius	Formosa, 2,500,000.
Javanese .	1820.. 1848 . .	3,500	Bruckner, Guericke . .	Java, 9,500,000.
Malagasse	1825.. 1835 . .	27,258	Jones, Griffiths, Freeman .	Madagas. 4,700,000.
Dajak . .	1846	2,000	Rhemish Miss.	Pt. Borneo, 100,000.

POLYNESIAN OR MALAYAN (*continued.*)

FURTHER POLYNESIAN FAMILY.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
N. Zealand or Maori	1831..1848 . . .	91,220	Yate	N. Zealand, 180,000.
Samoan .	1842	15,200	Williams, Heath, etc.	Navig. Isl., 150,000.
Tahitian .	1818..1838 . . .	20,150	Nott, Williams, etc.	Otaheiti, etc., 20,000.
Rarotongan	1836	10,100	Williams, Buza- cott, etc. .	Rarotonga, 13,000.
Hawaiian	1833, etc.	50,000	American Bible Society	Sandwich Is., 150,000.
Marquesan	1834, Jno., Luke	..	L. M. S.	Marquesa, 50,000.
Tongan .	1847	4,000	Wes. Miss. Scty.	Tongan Isl. 50,000.
Feejeean .	1849	1,000	Hurst	Feejee Isl., 300,000.

New South Wales, and sixteen others.

VI.—AFRICAN.
EGYPTIAN FAMILY.

Coptic .	Cent. III. } 1716..1731 . }	4,000	Ed. Wilkins Tattam, etc. .	Egyptian Christians, 150,000.
Sahidic .	1785..1799 . . .	..	Ed. Woide, etc.	Up. Egypt.
Bashmuric	1789 . . . . .	..	Ed. Georgi . . .	„

AFRICAN (*continued.*)

LYBIAN FAMILY: Berber and six others.

BRANCH. Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Berber .	1833, etc. . . .	250	.. ..	N. Africa, 3,000,000.

And five others.

NUBIAN AND BEDJAS FAMILY: twenty-two in all.

MANDINGO FAMILY.	1838	500	Macbriar . . .	Gambia.
Talloot .	.. ..	..	Hannah Kilham	Senegal to C. Verde.
Susoo . .	1797.. 1845 . .	Not printed.	Brunton, Wil- helm	Senegamb.
Bullom .	1815	500 N.T.	Nylander C.M.S.	Sier. Leone.
H. Bullom	1839	Gen. Int.	Crowther, Schön	Nr Gallinas
Bassa . .	In progress . .	Not printed.	Rh. Miss. Scty.	Pt. Siberia, 125,000.
Grebo . .	1840.. 1848 . .	1,000	American Board of Missions .	Near Cape Palmas.
Accra . .	1843	1,010	A. Hanson . .	Accra, 30,000.
Fantee . .	1764	Not printed.	King of Den- mark, Hanson	Gold Coast, 800,000.
Ashantee .	1846	Not printed.	Basle Miss. Scty.	Ashanti, 3,000,000.

And forty-one others.

AFRICAN (*continued.*)

DISTINCT LANGUAGES of Western Nigritia.

BRANCH Languages.	When printed or made.	Copies circu- lated since 1800 by the B. & F. Bible Society.	Chief Translators.	For whom intended.
Cameroon	1848	Gospels	A. Saker . . .	Cameroons 30,000.
Fernandian	1848	Gospels	J. Clarke . . .	Fern. Po., 20,000.
Yarriba	. . . . .	500 Lk., etc.	J. Crowther . .	W. of Niger
Isula	. . 1848	Gospels	J. Merrick . . .	Bembia, 10,000.
Ponga	. . 1846	Pts. of S. 6,000	American Missionaries.	Cape Lopez 200,000.
Houssa	. 1841	Not pr.	Schön, Crowther	On Chad, etc.

And sixty-four others.

CAFFRARIAN, OR WILD CAMITIC STOCK.

Caffre . .	1830..1841 . .	15,500	Boyce & Shaw . .	Caffraria, 1,000,000.
Sechuana .	1830	5,050	R. Moffat . . .	Bechuanas 30,000.
Sisuta . .	1837	Gospels 1,000	Fr. Ev. Prot. Miss. Society.	Basutos, S. Africa.
Kiseraheli	1844	Not printed.	Dr. Krapf . . .	Suabeli, E. Africa, 400,000.
Kikamba . . . . .	. . . . .	„	Dr. Krapf . . .	E. Africa. 70,000.
Kinika .	1848	500 Lk.	Dr. Krapf . . .	„, 60,000.
Namacqua	1815, etc. . . .	1000 Lk.	Scheli Knudsen	S. Africa.

And twenty-eight others.

AFRIC-ABYSSINIAN FAMILY.

Galla . .	1839..42 . . .	Gospels	Dr. Krapf . . .	S. Abyssinia 5,000,000.
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And twenty-eight others.

It is one of the glories of Biblical translation that it admits of the co-operation of both sexes and of every rank. To a lady we are indebted for one of the most precious Biblical relics—the Alexandrian Manuscript—and her handwriting may be traced on its page. To the example of the queen of Richard II. Wycliffe appeals, in his “Threefold Bond of Love,” in defence of the general study of the Bible; and her influence was repeatedly used in helping to circulate it.* Queen Katherine Parr printed a paraphrase of the New Testament “at her own exceeding cost and charges.” To Hedwige, queen of Poland, (A. D. 1384,) the Poles owe their first version of the New Testament; as do the natives of the Spanish Basque provinces to Jane d’Albert, queen of Navarre; and more than one German tribe is indebted to the bounty of the mother of count Zinzendorf. Nor are modern instances wanting. The first portion of the New Testament printed in Siamese, was translated by Mrs. Judson; and to the Jalloofs, a large tribe residing south on the banks of the Senegambia, Hannah Kilham devoted her time and at length her life. She studied and mastered their tongue, and commenced a version of the Scriptures, which, however, she did not live to complete.

A slight glance at the table of African tongues will show that as yet Christians have but entered on their work in that continent, and that even of districts within our reach, nearly the whole are without the Bible.

* Townley, vol. ii. p. 92.

VII.—AMERICAN.

ESQUIMAUX FAMILY.

Esquimaux .	1809.	1839.	12,024	Burghaut, etc., Mor- avians	Labrador, etc.
Greenlandish .	1744.	1821.	2,200	P. Egede, Moravian	Greenland, 7,000. And three others.

ALKAPASCAN AND TAHKALI BRANCHES: with eight others unplaced. Eighteen in all.

ALGONQUIN FAMILY.

Cree . .	...	Not pr.	Howse .	Cree, 35,000.
Ottawa . .	1841 . .	Mt., Jno.	Amer. Board	Ottawai, 750.
Ojibway . .	1833...1844.	3,000, pt. Gos.	P. Jones and Am. B. Soc.	Chippeways, 25,000.
Pottawattomie . .	...	Mat. .	J. Lykins .	Near Lake Michigan.
Massachusetts .	1661...1663. 1709	...	Eliot, May- hew	Mas. Indians.
Mohegan . .	1714. 1836.	3,000	Freeman, Norton, Hill	Mohawks 7,000 in 1700 —40,000.
Delaware . .	1818 . .	1,000	Deucke, Am. Board	Delawares.
Ohewanhoe .	1836 . .	Mat. .	Bap. Miss.	1,500. And nineteen others.

IROQUOIS FAMILY.

Seneca . .	1829 . .	1,000	Harris, Am. Board	Seneca other Iro- quois.
				And sixteen others.

SIOUX FAMILY.

Dacota } .	1839, etc. .	Parts of Script.	Amer. Bd.	Sioux, etc., 50,000. And eleven others.
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FLORIDAN FAMILY.

Chocktan . .	1839...1849.	3,000	Wright, and Am. Bd.	Near Missip., 18,500.
Cherokee . .	1832...1848.	6,000	Amer. Bd.	Cher., 15,000. And five others.

AMERICAN (*continued.*)

PANIS FAMILY.

Pawnee . .	...	Not pr.	Amer. Bd.	Pawnees, 9,500.
And five others.				

CARIB-TAMANAGUE FAMILY.

Karif, or Carib	1847 . .	...	Henderson	Honduras, etc.
Araivach . .	1823...1850.	Part pr.	Schuman, Brett	Surinam.
And five others.				

DISTINCT LANGUAGES OF CENTRAL AMERICA.

Mosquito . .		Not pr.	Henderson	Mosq. Shore.
And twenty-one others.				

MAYAN FAMILY.

Mayan . .		Gospels and Acts,	Kingdon .	Yuealan, 600,000.
And six others.				

MEXICAN FAMILY.

Atzec, or Mexican Mixteca	1829 . .	250, Luke	B. & F. B. S.	Mexico, etc., 1,700,000.
Zapoteca } .	1568 . .	...	Benedict Tainwaud	Mex., 660,000.
Tarasco } .	And eleven others.			

PERUVIAN FAMILY.

Quichua, or Peruvian	1825 . .	Not pr.	B. & F. B. S.	Peru, 1,400,000.
Aimara . .	1827...1829.	1,000, Lk.	Dr. Kanki, B. & F. B. S.	Peru, 550,000.

GUARANI FAMILY.

Guarani Proper	...	Not printed	...	...
Brazilian, or Tupi	...	...	...	...
And four others.				

Summing up these results, we find that parts of the Bible have been translated into 211 languages and dialects. Of this number, the *whole Bible* has been translated into 63, and the New Testament into 63 more. Into 85, parts only of the Scripture have been translated.

Of the entire number, 150 versions have been printed more or less directly in connexion with the British and Foreign Bible Society—the contribution of the first half of this century to the evangelization of the world.

Two or three additional lessons of practical importance may be gathered from the subject of this volume. *First* of all, it is clear that there is a unity of faith among Protestants as striking, at least, as the unity of the adherents of the papacy. The unity of *Popery* is submission to the *church*, that is, to tradition and the teaching of general councils; the unity of *Protestantism* is submission to the *Bible*. If, on the first, Roman Catholics are agreed, so are Protestants on the second: the Greek church and the Anglican, the Lutheran and the Calvinist. “*Scripture sufficient and final*,” is the maxim of all sects. Luther proclaimed it at Wittemberg, Farel at Paris, Zwingle at Basle, Calvin at Geneva, and the Greek patriarch at Constantinople. Among Protestants, this is the common faith; nor is our unity in relation to it inferior to that of the church of Rome.

It may be said in answer, “This is hardly the question at issue. It may be admitted that Protestants and Roman Catholics are alike in

having each a standard of appeal ; but," it is added, " the standard of the church of Rome contains clearer annunciations, is sustained by more decisive authority, and secures greater harmony of belief than the standard of Protestants. Councils and traditions are plainer than the Bible—more full and more authoritative." This assertion has been often made ; but it is really without foundation. An assertion of the same kind swayed the mind of Chillingworth. On this very ground he embraced the Romish religion, and hoped to find in it an infallible guide in matters of faith. He soon discovered, however, that no such infallible guide was to be found, honestly avowed his conviction, and returned to the Protestant faith. He declared afterwards that "fathers were set against fathers, and councils against councils," to such an extent that he had discovered nothing in all antiquity to be compared in *traditional authority* or in *clearness and cogency* with the Scriptures. "Henceforth," he adds, in a well-known passage, "let the Bible alone be the religion of Protestants." Ten years before, Daillé, (1628) one of the most learned pastors of the French reformed church, had proved by argument and history what Chillingworth was destined to prove by experience. By a careful examination of the traditional authorities of the Romish church, he has shown that on many subjects of theology it is very difficult, if not impossible, to find out what they taught ; while on many questions, both of doctrine and of fact, their statements are in the highest degree erroneous

or contradictory. If, therefore, a Roman Catholic is pressed to apply to *his* standard of appeal the inquiries which we suppose a Protestant to apply to the Bible, he will find tenfold greater difficulty in obtaining an answer than any Protestant has found. The proof of the Divine authority of "the church" is more intricate than the proof of the truth of Scripture, not to say less conclusive. The meaning of her teaching is more ambiguous, (her Bible being in truth a hundred folio volumes of childish and often contradictory assertions,) and the diversity of judgment on matters of faith *within* the Roman Catholic church, is as great as beyond it. Nothing, in truth, is gained by adding councils and fathers to the inspired oracles, but multiplied suspicions and aggravated uncertainty. Protestantism has all the unity of the church of Rome in possessing a common standard, and all the advantage which can be derived from the clearness of the evidence of the Bible, the universality of its accessibility, the fulness and the simplicity of its decisions.

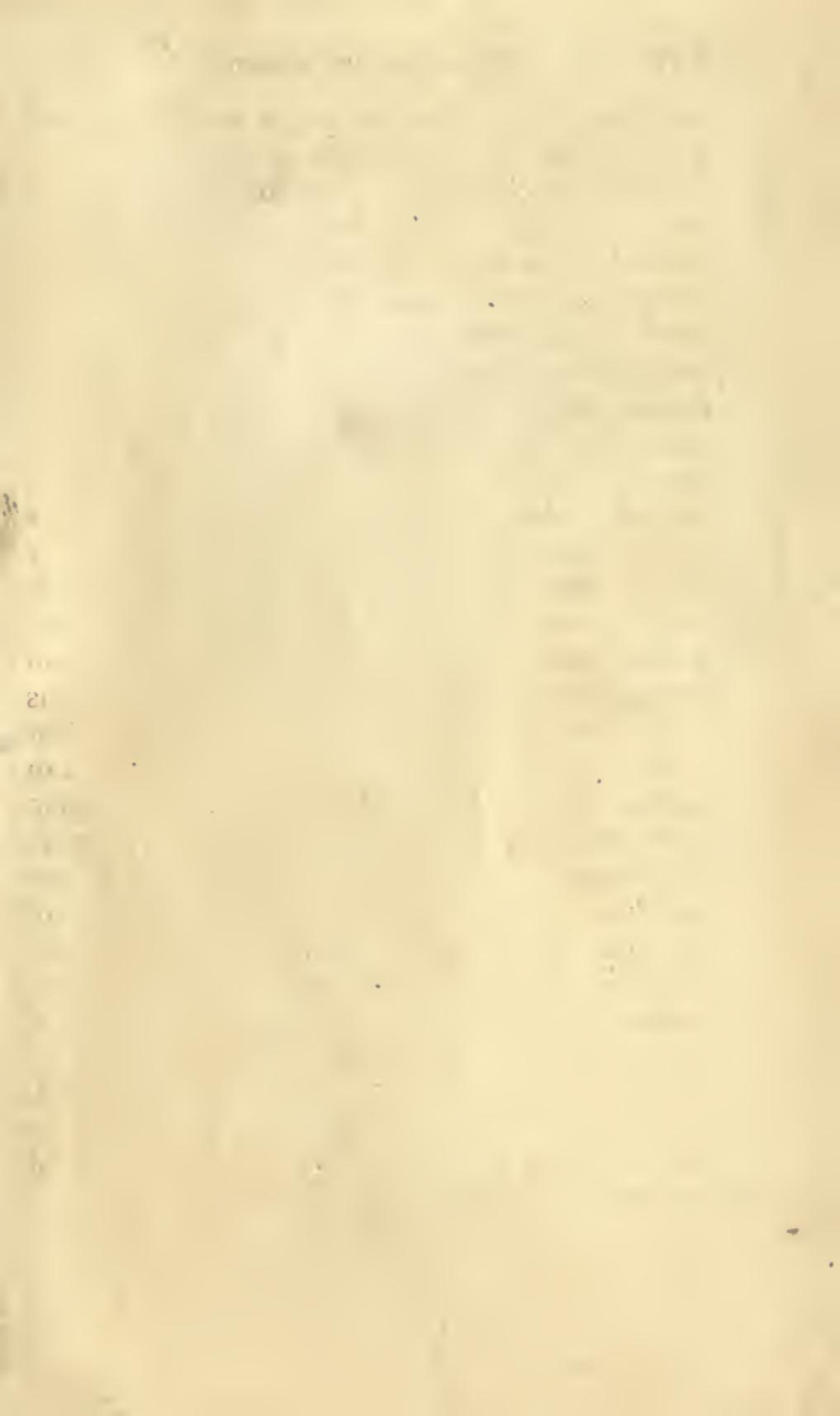
Secondly. If this theme gives us a just idea of Protestantism, so also it gives us a broad and accurate definition of Christianity. The "sufficiency of Scripture," and "salvation by grace" through Christ, were the two main pillars of the Reformation. The latter of these truths Luther was fond of expressing in this form—"Christ *for* us, our pardon : Christ *in* us, our holiness—is the whole of the gospel." But whatever the form, in the substance of both truths all are agreed. The Reformation,

therefore, was an assertion of the authority of Scripture against tradition, of God's word against human corruptions ; thus it honoured the Bible. It was no less an assertion of Christ's sufficiency for man's redemption and holiness against Pharisaic pride, human frailty, and priestly assumption ; thus it honoured the Redeemer. Protestantism affirms the *first* of these truths, Christianity affirms the *second*, Protestant Christianity affirms them *both*. There may be true Christianity among some who are not Protestants. And there may be Protestantism among some who, alas ! are not Christians. We may be Protestants ; but if we are not *believers*, if we have no deep habitual sense of our sinfulness, no feeling of reliance on Christ, no earnest desire after holiness, no sympathy, in short, with the truths and lessons embodied in his death, our Protestantism is not the renewing of the Holy Ghost, nor is it therefore spiritual life. It may prove only an aggravation of our guilt, and finally of our ruin. While, then, our conceptions of religion are so framed as to include all who love our Lord Jesus Christ in sincerity, let us see to it that we love him ourselves.

Lastly. The statement on the value of the Bible made at the outset of these inquiries, has been sustained, it is hoped, by their results. The devout study of the Bible has ever been the great instrument of holiness, and the circulation of the Bible the great instrument of religious revival and progress. The conversion of Europe and the world depends, under God,

upon the multiplication and prayerful distribution of copies of his word. To it England owes, in a large degree, her liberties and religion. What, then, is the duty of the church ? We have inherited from our fathers their privileges, and consequent large responsibility. To us "have been committed" the oracles of God. We have been put in trust with the gospel. Let us see to it that we neither corrupt its simplicity with human philosophy, nor adulterate its purity with human traditions. If others seek to corrupt it, let us withstand them "to the face." Above all, let us discharge our commission, and give the gospel to the world in books and tracts, such as formed the precursors of the Reformation ; but especially in the form of the Bible itself. The last sixty years have witnessed in this respect a great change. We have printed and circulated throughout our own country fifteen million copies of the word of God. All the issues of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of fifty-four other Bible Societies *for all Europe*, have not exceeded this number. The millions of the continent, therefore, have not had in sixty years more than we deem necessary for ourselves. Yet they need the Bible. They are able to read it, and are less blessed than the English people with the teaching of the living voice—more dependent, therefore, on the still small voice of God. Turning to British India, we find there a population of a hundred and fifty millions, all accessible, many thousands of them attending at schools, looking to us for

religious truth. The issues of the British and Foreign Bible Society, and of six East Indian Societies, including, in fact, all that has been done in sixty years for India, amount to barely three million copies of Scripture and parts of Scripture ; these latter containing often a single book. The vast empire of China has not received in all one hundred and thirty thousand copies of any part of the Bible ; nor have more than fifty thousand copies been distributed among the one hundred and fifty millions of Africa. Most of those countries have peculiar claims upon us. India has been entrusted, by the providence of God, to our care ; China has been cursed and blessed by our traffic ; and Africa was for years robbed of her children through our avarice and cruelty. Sixty persons out of every hundred in Europe are still without the Bible ; ninety-eight out of every hundred in India. Societies have been formed to give them Bibles, and need only our help and prayers to extend their labours. The heathen are perishing of thirst ; the fountain of the water of life springs up in our dwelling. Shall we leave them to perish ? The fittest proof of our Protestantism, and the appropriate expression of our love to Christ and to our fellows, is to give them the Bible. The gift will be thrice blessed. The Divine word will not return void. Men will be saved, ourselves profited, and God honoured.



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